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Hour of Decision

If ye break faith with us who died
We shall not sleep.

THE World Security Conference meets as the last fierce efforts of German resistance are being battered into the ground, as the ultimate obscenity of Nazism is being revealed in the hideous and pitiful records of the concentration camps, and as the peoples of Europe and the liberating armies are contemplating in stunned horror, the physical accomplishments of modern war. And when the guns cease, the specter of famine will spring from fields sown with mines and walk through the desolation that was Europe.

Ahead are the stern tasks of retribution, of deciding in technical detail the fate of Germany, of rehabilitating, feeding, rebuilding Europe. All of these tasks raise economic, political, educational problems which it may take a generation to solve. And beyond V-E Day are the completion of the war with Japan and the gigantic problems of the Far East. But greater than all these problems and more portentous for the peoples of the world is that to be faced by the delegates at San Francisco: how to establish a world organization that will secure peace and create the conditions under which the peoples of the world can struggle ahead toward a free and decent life. If San Francisco fails, then millions of brave men will have died in vain.

In this issue of *The Nation* two outstanding authorities on international affairs present their conceptions of the meaning of San Francisco. Both reject the contention of the perfectionists that world peace can rest only on a just and democratic world federation. Both would agree with Reinhold Niebuhr, in *The Nation* of April 7, that "Dumbarton Oaks envisages not a world authority but a world alliance of states, and that the authority of the great powers is to be the core of world order." Beyond that basic position, however, there is a sharp divergence of interpretation. Frederick L. Schuman insists that it is a delusion, and a dangerous delusion at that, to imagine that the new United Nations organization can have attributes other than those of a Grand Alliance. It is "muddle-minded liberals" and "subtle obstructionists" who urge the introduction of principles of justice and democracy, who insist upon the redress of the balance of powers between large and small states, who claim that the Assembly should be given a more important function. Percy E. Corbett, on the other hand, insists that it is a mistake to make this black-and-white distinction between a federation and a power alliance. The new organization is not rigid; the claims of community press against the "realistic" canons of power politics. It can safely be said, for instance, that the strength and functioning efficiency of the organization will depend upon the degree to which some of the real grievances raised by the smaller states are met. The central tasks of San Francisco relate to the modification of the original Dumbarton Oaks charter to meet the larger requirements of justice and flexibility.

Now with this latter position we are in essential agreement. San Francisco must obviously be more than a rubber stamp on the original four-power agreement. The Dumbarton Oaks charter itself, while lacking in the declared moral purposes of the Covenant of the old League, nevertheless proposes a rudimentary constitutional framework within which the rights of nations, small as well as great, are guaranteed against abuse. And even now—perhaps chiefly now—larger concepts of justice can be introduced which originally were neglected. It is becoming increasingly clear that basic unity among the major powers is affected by the rights and the status of smaller powers. At the time this is being written, for example, the whole world is anxiously awaiting the results of the conference in Washington between Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Molotov, and Mr. Eden over the question of the reorganization of the Polish government in terms of the Yalta agreement. Leaving aside the mischievous attacks of professional Russophobes, there is a grave concern in the heart of the average American that the independence of Poland and the political rights of all democratic groups in Poland be respected.

What is strangely enough overlooked by the "realists" is that behind the governments represented at San Francisco are societies of free men and women who have already contributed enormously of blood and treasure to crush states dedicated to the worship of power. There is no indication that the peoples of the world will long be content with a world organization, whether it is called a league or an alliance or simply the United Nations, unless it increasingly responds to the demands of justice. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms declaration offer no blueprint for an organization to support world peace; but they do express basic principles which fortunately most free men believe can and must find realization in human society. Some died believing they were fighting to build such a society. Not all of them were "muddle-minded liberals" or "subtle obstructionists."

We watch San Francisco, then, with deep concern and with profound hope. We are sorry that Franklin Delano Roosevelt will not be there to see the first steps taken in the accomplishment of "the long and arduous task." He stands beside the countless other brave men with whom we dare not break faith.

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The Shape of Things

THE LOWEST CIRCLES OF THE NAZI HELL ARE being exposed in the camps of death and living death where organized sadism and systematic degradation have been practiced on such a scale that the human mind, in self-defense, calls it inhuman. The most hopeful of reformers may be expected to doubt that it is possible to reclaim a people conditioned, during twelve years, to behavior of which the logical end result is to be found in the stacks of bones, the rotting flesh, and the terrible stench of Buchenwald. And the problem is made infinitely more difficult by the fact that the Nazis have systematically eliminated anyone who in their opinion might have been useful to the Allies. Only last July all former functionaries, however minor, of the left-wing parties were rounded up, and we may be sure that they have perished in these last desperate weeks of the Nazi regime. The demand for punishment of those who tolerated this evil as well as of those who perpetrated it will rise high at San Francisco. But we should do well to remember in this moment of shock and despair what the dispatches from Germany have seldom mentioned—that the first layers of bones and many later ones were made up of the remains of anti-fascist Germans. By 1938 their corpses had been piling up for six years, yet the gentlemen of Munich tolerated this evil and made a pact with the perpetrators. Long after that the "best people" condoned the Nazi regime. We are sorry, in this connection, that the editor of the Chicago *Tribune* and others of his stripe were missing from the group of editors and Congressmen who went last week-end to view the remains not only of the Nazi terror but of the policy of appeasement. The German people are responsible and their punishment began when the inhabitants of Weimar were forced to look at the Nazi horrors. But the rest of us have a responsibility too. We must implement it by reclaiming as well as punishing the German people. In any case, that is our only choice unless we are prepared to resort to Nazi methods—which would mark the final and awful triumph of the Nazi idea.

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REGARDLESS OF BITTER-END NAZI RESISTANCE, the material basis of Germany's war effort has been virtually wiped out by recent Allied successes. No amount of fanaticism can replace the coal lost in the Ruhr, the Saar, and Silesia; no suicide stands can make up for the lack of the iron ore formerly obtained from Silesia, Yugoslavia, and the Ruhr, and no exhortations by Goebbels, or even Hitler himself, can produce gasoline for tanks and planes with all natural oil resources lost and 75 per cent of the synthetic refineries in Allied hands. According to official estimates, Germany's steel-producing capacity has already been reduced 92 per cent, its output of hard coal has been cut 99 per cent, and its gasoline production has been slashed to 4 per cent of normal capacity. In addition, the Reich has lost at least 40 per cent of its jet-aircraft plants, 45 per cent of its regular airplane factories, and 55 per cent of its tank-production capacity. Even these figures exaggerate the Reich's ability to continue war production. Its war industry was decentralized in order to escape the full effects of bombing. As a result the assembly plants for planes and tanks were located in different parts of the Reich from the plants turning out engines and parts. With railway communications at a virtual standstill even in those parts of the country still under Hitler's control, it is probably quite impossible for such assembly plants as are left to obtain the parts necessary to produce any substantial amount of the equipment required for prolonged resistance in Hitler's northern or southern fortresses.

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THE CAPTURE OF BOLOGNA, CENTER OF THE line to which the Germans had held grimly through the winter, and key to the northern Italian plains, is of great political as well as military significance. Here the Allies are making their first close contact with the workers of the industrial north. Tougher and less exuberant than those of the south, they have a long tradition of political and industrial organization and a well-developed radical philosophy. Inside the city a large and disciplined body of Partisans, controlled by the local Committee of National Liberation, has for months awaited the signal to go into action. On the night of April 20, as troops of the Fifth and Eighth Armies closed in, their orders were received by short-wave. The promptness with which they were obeyed probably did much to save the city, reported to be in good working order, from destruction. In the 3½ hours that elapsed between the flight of the last Germans and the entry of the first Allied units, they took charge of the city and disposed of 200 Italian Fascists, thereby avenging 400 Partisans killed in the last six months, including Giuseppe Bentivoglio, veteran Socialist leader shot in the hour of liberation. By the time Allied civil affairs officers appeared on the scene, the Committee of National Liberation had met and elected as Mayor Giuseppe Dozza, a Communist. Milton Bracker, reporting to the New York *Times*, writes that the Communists and Socialists are the predominant parties in the city with the Actionists third. Opposition to monarchy appears widespread and vocal; hatred of Mussolini's Fascist "republicans" is intense. Correspondents noted that the welcome given to the Allies was comparatively subdued and suggested that this was a sign of a growing sense of Italian responsibility for the fate of Italy. Certainly it was not due to any regret for the city's former masters, but it may have been partly inspired by an understandable tendency on the part of the people to withhold their cheers until the political meaning of liberation was clearer.

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AMBASSADOR HURLEY'S RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW has particular significance in view of the Soviet Union's increasing interest in the Far Eastern war. During the years of the German invasion Moscow paid comparatively little attention to the Far East. Its relations with China, however, have been seriously strained by the shift to the right in Chungking's policies since the fall of Hankow in 1938. The once substantial flow of Soviet supplies through Sinkiang has been cut to a minute dribble, partly because of Russia's own requirements and partly because of Moscow's doubts regarding the use to which these supplies were being put. Although the whole affair was played down in both countries, the coup d'état which Chungking instigated in Sinkiang in 1942-1943 against the Soviet advisers greatly accentuated the friction between the two countries. C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times* in a recent dispatch from Moscow quoted an article by V. Avarin in *War and the Working Class* of April 21 which expressed "sharp anxiety as to the political prospects in China." Avarin claimed that the Japanese were using "thousands and tens of thousands of yesterday's Kuomintang people" including sixty-seven generals and large bodies of troops as a "weapon against the truly national Partisan movement" of Yenan. "The democratic public," he went on to say, "received with great anxiety the news that the negotiations between the Chinese Communist Party and Chungking has produced no results." It is unlikely that the Soviet Union will look with favor on the prospect of shedding Russian blood to drive the Japanese out of Manchuria, only to turn the area over to an unfriendly Chungking regime. Thus Moscow's interests in the internal Chinese situation coincide with those of the United States. Both countries are basically concerned with obtaining a strong, unified, democratic regime in China, capable of serving as a bulwark both against future Japanese aggression and against the spread of totalitarian ideas in Asia. A Far Eastern agreement, laying the basis for American, Russian, British, and Chinese cooperation in the Pacific, should help materially toward attaining these objectives.

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SOME OF OUR BEST FRIENDS ARE FASCISTS. TAKE Franco. We always knew his heart was in the right place. Now that he has broken with Japan, refused entry to German planes, invited Spanish Republicans to return (none have accepted), and lifted the censorship on outgoing news, what more can liberals ask? They can and do ask a general amnesty for all political prisoners, a lifting of the internal censorship, the arrest of Nazi war criminals, the restoration of civil and political liberties, and the holding of free elections guaranteed by the presence of foreign observers. They demand that the State Department break with Franco, whose shaky regime it now supports. Of course, the fact that Franco is a very Catholic fascist makes this a bit difficult. He and his buddy across the border, Salazar, are two of the most God-fearing fascists with whom we maintain friendly relations. Together with their fellow-dictators in Brazil and Argentina they form a Catholic fascist bloc in Europe and in America which hopes to continue its activities within the framework of the world security organization. It is not inconceivable that they may yet be given the opportunity to do so—with State Department help. Severance of relations with Spain would be a mortal blow to the Fascist Four. This step would also permit the Spanish people to achieve their own liberation. Can it be that we still fear a republic in Spain more than we fear fascism? The State Department misrepresents the American people if it answers yes.

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CARLOS PRESTES'S RELEASE AFTER NINE YEARS of imprisonment in Brazil is not a measure of Vargas's democratic sentiments but the weakening of his fascist state. Popular pressure has forced the most astute of South American dictators to declare an amnesty for all political prisoners. They number approximately 3,000; 800 were in Rio de Janeiro's jail, and several thousand were in the island prisons of Fernando de Noronha and Ilha Grande. Carlos Prestes, whose name has become a symbol of the fight for freedom, is a Communist who led the opposition to Vargas and was imprisoned in 1936 just before the dictatorship finally intrenched itself by abolishing all constitutional liberties. His release will immensely accelerate the struggle for democracy inside Brazil and furnish it with a valuable leader. But one outstanding democratic leader may be lost—Arthur Ewart,

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the gallant German anti-fascist, once a member of the Reichstag, who was jailed at the same time as Prestes. Several years ago it was reported that the tortures to which he was subjected in Vargas's jails had driven him insane. Now he has been released—in what condition and in whose custody we do not know. Vargas wants us to forget the case of Arthur Ewart and of his other victims. He wants us to forget that he deported Prestes's pregnant wife to Nazi Germany, where her child was born in a concentration camp. These are facts we hope our representatives will remember when they sit down to plan for world security with Vargas's delegates.

*

THE AUTHORITIES AT SAN QUENTIN PRISON IN California have worked out a streamlined solution for the race problem in America—if it could only be applied on a mass scale. Some time ago the authorities came to the sensible conclusion that prejudice did not necessarily need to be respected inside prison walls. Having convinced themselves of the soundness of this novel proposition, they proceeded to order the white inmates to eat in the mess hall in which Negro prisoners are served, thereby upsetting a time-honored San Quentin tradition ("interfering with the *mores*," in sociological parlance). The white prisoners, with amusing arrogance, refused to comply with the order. The answer of the authorities was to order 1,110 convicts kept in solitary confinement on one meal a day until they could master their Mississippian indignation. After twelve hours of confinement, these haughty advocates of white supremacy, without exception, decided that they could actually eat a meal in the presence of Negroes. And no subsequent disorders have been reported. The technique having proved so effective, it is unfortunate that it cannot be applied on a nation-wide scale—for about twelve hours. While Bilbo and Rankin might conceivably be somewhat more intransigent than the 1,110 white prisoners in San Quentin, still it seems reasonable to assume that their desire for mere food—not to mention good Southern cooking—would soon overcome their reluctance to eat with Negroes. In any case, the authorities at San Quentin are entitled to a large measure of commendation for having braved the outraged sensibilities of a thousand criminals. If the example is followed by other institutions, we may actually succeed in outlawing segregation in every prison in America.

*

ERNIE PYLE HATED WAR AND FEARED DEATH. He might have by-passed both and lived out his days quite honorably in a safe sector. Instead he insisted on going again and again to the front lines of World War II. According to an anonymous obituary in the New York *Times*, which deserved a by-line, Pyle grew up with a fear of not being liked. Perhaps this explains his courage; it would seem that the fear itself had been transmuted into an obligation to take part in the common experience of his kind, though it was an experience he hated and feared. In fulfilling an obligation imposed only by himself he became a known soldier; but millions of unknown G. I.'s are commemorated in his unwilling yet voluntary dedication, his grousing yet dogged service, and his casual death on an island in the South Pacific.

ONE WAY TO LOSE FAITH IN DEMOCRACY IS TO study the faces in a cigarette line in this peak year of war effort. There's one close to the office which by three o'clock any afternoon runs clear around four sides of a block. We've been told that if you wait for two hours you are almost sure to get two packages of cigarettes. Perhaps what made us particularly ill the last time we saw it was that we had spent the evening before with an American flyer just back from the Pacific. He had flown over Tokyo in a B 29 a few weeks ago. He had been on Iwo and he described the faces of the wounded men who were taken off the beach out to the hospital ships. They were not like the civilian faces in that line.

Talking for a Third World War

THE sharp verbal clash between Secretary Wallace and Senator Wiley at the Senate hearings on the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act epitomizes the cleavage of party opinion on this vital issue. Senator Wiley was engaged in the hoary Republican pastime of shedding crocodile tears over the American workers who would be thrown out of work by the influx of cheap foreign goods. Asked to comment, Mr. Wallace said: "Senator, I hate to hear you talking like that; you are just talking for a third world war." Red with anger, the Senator retorted that that was "a hell of an answer."

Some people may feel that Mr. Wallace's reply was a little too sweeping, but the wide publicity given to the clash indicates that it was just the kind of answer needed to challenge the conventional protectionist myths which Senator Wiley was mouthing. For years economists have patiently tried to explain that the country could not lose through an increase in foreign trade: that *trade* means *trade*, a swapping of something that you can make cheaply for something that other countries can make cheaply. For every job lost in a low-wage protected industry, one or more new jobs would be created in our high-wage export industries.

But the explanation of the economists seems never to have sunk in very deeply. Vested interests, by judicious expenditures in the right places, have been able to perpetuate the myth that the tariff somehow "protected" the American standard of living, and have kept many people believing that a reduction in the tariff would result in increased unemployment. Mr. Wallace's accusation that the perpetuators of these myths are talking for World War III cuts to the heart of the issue in a way that the economists' reply has failed to do. It is true, as the economists have pointed out, that an increase in foreign trade will raise, not lower, living standards, and will make possible an expansion, rather than a reduction, in employment. But the economic benefits, though substantial, are unimportant when weighed in the scales with the political benefits.

The essential point, as brought out so dramatically by the Secretary of Commerce, is that an effective political organization for maintaining the peace must be based on the fact of world economic interdependence. This presupposes a

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substantial increase in world trade. Economic nationalism is fundamentally divisive in character. If allowed to persist, it will destroy whatever structure of political cooperation may be set up at San Francisco. Assistant Secretary of State Clayton developed this point when he pointed out that unless steps are taken to permit other countries to meet their obligations to this country through an expansion of American imports, "we'll set up irritations and bitterness" among other countries. And Secretary of State Stettinius affirmed the same truth when he declared that the new tariff proposals were vital to "give the rest of the world a symbol and a tangible proof that we mean what we say about joining with other nations in working out a more prosperous and secure world."

In many ways it is unfortunate that the San Francisco conference should be held while Congress is still squabbling as to whether it will indorse Bretton Woods and a renewal of the Trade Agreements Act. Defeat of either would deal a body blow to the conference, and Administration supporters are frankly worried over the prospects for both. But the very uncertainty about the fate of the proposals creates an opportunity. Nothing would do more at this point to create a favorable atmosphere at San Francisco than prompt and decisive action by Congress indorsing Bretton Woods and extending the reciprocal-trade act.

An Apple Has Only Two Halves

THE National Planning Association has long played a small but useful and growing role in the formation of American public opinion and in the clarification of complex economic problems. It has been extraordinarily successful in bringing together representatives of labor and agriculture and progressive business men, and in achieving agreement on basic issues. It has been doing an outstanding job in focusing attention on the problem of full employment after the war. Its latest staff report, "National Budgets for Full Employment," will help government officials, business men, farm leaders, and trade unionists to grasp at least the magnitude of the task involved in full employment.

The Full Employment bill now before Congress utilizes the mechanism of a national economic budget, a budget that covers all the income and outgo of the entire economy instead of merely that of the federal government. The purpose of that budget is to disclose the "gap" which either government or private spending must fill between prospective expenditures and the amount required for full employment.

The National Planning Association study sets up three sample budgets of this kind, one relying on government to fill this gap, a second on private expenditures, a third on increased consumer purchases. It is when these budgetary figures are examined and compared with the past that one begins to realize what a stupendous task is involved in the achievement of full employment. The total national output required, according to the NPA, is $170 billion annually in 1941 prices, or about the amount the nation produced last year in terms of 1944 prices. To reach this total, the NPA assumes expenditures of $13 billion for producer's plant and equipment (capital goods), or $5 billion more than the average of the '20's; $6 billion for residential construction, or about $1.5 billion more than the average of the '20's; $1 billion for net increase in inventories; and $2 billion for net export balance, or about $1 billion more than in the '20's. The study assumes expenditures of $25.4 billion a year by government and of $122.6 billion by consumers—or just about twice the amount spent by consumers in 1939. And after all these optimistic assumptions, there still remains a gap of $8.5 billion to be filled by additional expenditures!

Could this be filled by public works? "Not for long," the NPA experts declare, "without redefining the term public works," without "a drastic readjustment of our concepts of appropriate government activities in peace time." Government would have to go into several fields hitherto the exclusive preserve of private ownership to expand expenditures that much. Could private industry take up that slack by adding $8.5 billion to its investment in capital goods? Its $13 billion annual investment in such goods is already enormous. Its magnitude may be judged by the fact that the total government investment in war plants since the defense program began is only $16 billion. What other possibility is there for filling this gap?

"There is one possibility," the NPA report says, "that could have a major effect. This is the possibility of a change in the distribution of the nation's income. It is a common observation that a man saves a larger proportion of his income as the income rises; conversely, that people toward the lower end of the income scale save less or do not find it possible to save at all. If ways could be found to adjust the lower brackets upward without increasing prices, the effect would be to increase individuals' expenditures and thus relieve government or business or both of some of their burden in making up the total required for full employment."

But to "adjust the lower brackets upward without increasing prices" requires a willingness on the part of industry to accept a lower rate of profit. For there is no way to cut an apple into three halves. The total apple would indeed be larger under full employment and the total volume of profit might well be greater, but the ratio of profit, the percentage taken from the national income by the top income groups, must necessarily be smaller if those at the bottom are to have a greater share. In this greater share for those at the bottom lies the key to full employment. H. Christian Sonne, an unusually thoughtful and progressive business man, who is chairman of the NPA, indicated as much when he said, "It is the use, the distribution—not primarily the size—of the national output and income that counts. Within a considerable range it is the relationships that govern, not the magnitudes." The only place where consuming power can be significantly increased is in the lower income groups, and they can have more only if those at the top have a little less. Full employment offers the upper groups a rich recompense in return: greater security, social, economic, and political. Capital may earn a lower rate of return, but the risk will be less.

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Notes Before 'Frisco

BY I. F. STONE

En Route to San Francisco, April 20

THE first essential of world peace is full employment in the United States. This cannot be repeated too often. Our own country represents about half the world market, and if we are prosperous the rest of the world will be prosperous too. Only in such a context can the agreements reached at Bretton Woods operate successfully. Only in such a context will other nations give up the weapons of economic self-defense and economic warfare—currency depreciation, quotas, barter agreements, licensing of exports and imports—which breed ill-feeling among nations. It has been said that if we wish to sell abroad we must be prepared to buy abroad. Only in a prosperous America can one hope for the political and economic climate which would permit any significant tariff reductions. The strong opposition in Congress to the Doughton bill for extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act indicates how far we are as a people from grasping the responsibilities and necessities of our creditor position. In a fully employed America the tariff problem would lose much of its urgency.

Several recent studies indicate that the volume of our imports bears surprisingly little relation to the height of our tariff walls or to the price of foreign products. Calvin B. Hoover in his "Post-War Goals and Economic Reconstruction" reports that "the changes in volume of trade in commodities on which duties were raised during the Hoover Administration were not so strikingly different from the changes in the volume of imports of other commodities upon which duties were not raised." The factor that determines our volume of trade, Dr. Hoover finds, "is the volume of our own industrial production. If we have prosperity, then we have high imports and exports. If we have depression the opposite is true."

All this is far better understood abroad than at home. Washington embassies have shown unusual interest in the full-employment bill now before Congress. (It is worth noting that the new President when he was still a Senator signed promptly the Military Affairs Committee report indorsing the bill.) Some foreign governments, notably the Australian, are known to have begun diplomatic conversations on the full-employment problem with a view to some joint action or declaration at the world trade conference recently announced by Secretary Stettinius.

Full and stable employment in the United States necessarily means a lower rate of profit on capital. Some would like to evade this unpalatable fact and to dodge a terribly difficult problem by an intensified drive for foreign markets. Foreign markets, though important, cannot provide full employment. To place primary emphasis on foreign trade is also to intensify inevitable ill-feeling as American and British traders compete in Latin America and elsewhere. This would be imperialism in its classic form. For imperialism is the search abroad for that higher rate of profit which can no longer be obtained at home. I need hardly add that failure to achieve full employment would also provide the right emotional climate for imperialist adventures: disillusioned veterans, renewed isolationism, xenophobia, fascist movements. In such an atmosphere whatever is achieved at San Francisco would become worthless.

The second essential of a stable world peace is agreement among the Big Three on post-war treatment of Germany and Japan—not just agreement on generalities, but accord in the working out of detailed day-by-day decisions. The trust or mistrust bred in the process will determine the future relations of the great powers and decide the efficiency of the security organization to be set up at San Francisco. Here the political difficulties involved are enormous.

We must never forget that Hitlerism had a double root and can only be extirpated by double action. It was rooted not only in the German national pattern but also in the weaknesses of world capitalism. All the factors which enabled Hitler to reverse Lenin's famous slogan, which enabled the Nazis to turn civil war into imperialist war, are still present. The recurrent cyclical crises, the dead-end atmosphere of much upper-class thinking, the fear of change, the Communist bogy, the anti-Semitism characteristic of societies in decay are still with us. The two staples of Nazi propaganda —the "bulwark against Bolshevism" line for nice people, Jew-baiting for the others—will still be marketable after the war if there is considerable unemployment.

There is reason to believe that the "bulwark against Bolshevism" idea is already playing a part in British and American thinking in regard to Germany, as it also will in regard to Japan. Anti-Soviet fears and prejudices, though private, are prominent in the thinking of the State Department bureaucracy. James Clement Dunn and Julius Holmes are certainly among those to whom this applies. The tendency to favor a "soft peace" for Germany is also fed by cartel and commercial considerations, here as in Britain. The leak of the so-called "Morgenthau plan" in distorted form was a deliberate job by the State Department crowd to which I refer, and it was contrived in a way most likely to kill the plan.

Mr. Hull himself, contrary to the general impression, was not for a soft peace, but for a year or more before his retirement he had little to do with the actual workings of the State Department. So long as Mr. Roosevelt was alive, the "hard peace" idea had the ascendancy, but since his death a change is already perceptible in inter-departmental discussions. The State Department opposition to drastic action against Germany has stiffened. It is possible that the department may take a stronger position on German war criminals and perhaps also against the Japanese Emperor as a means of covering up a softer policy toward both countries. No one yet knows what Mr. Truman's attitude toward the German and Japanese problems will be, but I suspect it will prove at least as stern as Mr. Roosevelt's.

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It must be kept in mind that the Big Three did not have sense enough to stick together against the Nazi menace before the war. The U. S. S. R. and this country both waited to be attacked before entering the war. Joint occupation of the Reich may make it easier, not harder, for the Germans to play one side off against the other. Robert Murphy, who will be General Eisenhower's political adviser in the German occupation, is as dangerous as he is shrewd. Murphy is another of those whose thinking about Germany is colored by the desire for a "bulwark against Bolshevism." The grim fact is that the dominant forces in British and American society impel us to the reconstitution after the war of pretty much the same kind of Germany and Japan we are spending blood and billions to crush. Only large measures of socialism and a vigorous upper-class purge could remove the aggressive forces and the imperialist urges of Germany and Japan, establish mutual confidence among the Big Three, and make a third world war unlikely. These, too, are decisions which will determine the worth of what is done at San Francisco.

A less immediate and longer-range problem which will decide the stability of the peace is the treatment of the colonial peoples. Here lies the possibility of conflicts more serious even than another falling out among the European peoples. However "correct" the attitude of the Soviet Union, however conservative and conciliatory the policies of the Communist parties, the example of racial equality in the Soviet Union will be a constant reproach and irritant to colonialism, as Soviet full employment will be to capitalism. In this field, too, progressive forces in the West must press for reform if the unity of the Big Three is to be maintained.

Little has been said in the West of the spectacle provided by the farce of "India" at San Francisco and of "India" in the Assembly of the proposed new world organization. The delegation is made up entirely of British stooges, and it is Britain which will cast India's vote in the Assembly. We may be sure that the full implications of the sight will not be lost on the colonial peoples. "The trouble is," said a British representative to an American in a relaxed moment at the bar during the Bretton Woods conference, "we're too good to each other's niggers." He was referring, of course, to American interest in India and British interest in our treatment of Negroes; the remark is rich in overtones. In the handling of the colonial problem, we must either invoke prejudice and race hatred, fascist style, or move forward to the admission of the colonial and colored peoples into full equality and partnership. A few millions of European whites cannot forever dominate hundreds of millions of brown and yellow people. This is another of the fundamental questions which must be faced and answered if the San Francisco peace organization is to last.

Might and Right at San Francisco

BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

WHEN the birds and animals emerged from the pool of tears, "all dripping, wet, cross, and uncomfortable," Lewis Carroll tells us, they had a consultation about how to get dry again. The Dodo suggested a Caucus-race. The resulting bewilderment suggests the state of mind in which many Americans contemplate the San Francisco conference. Even after the Klieg lights and microphones have been turned off, most observers and some participants will be quite uncertain whether the conference was a success or a failure.

The Dodo, it will be recalled, "marked out a race course in a sort of circle ('the exact shape doesn't matter,' it said), and then all the party were placed along the course, here and there, and began running when they liked, and left off when they liked, so that it was not easy to know when the race was over. However, when they had been running half an hour or so, the Dodo suddenly called out, 'The race is over!' and they all crowded round it, panting, and asking, 'But who has won?' This question the Dodo could not answer without a great deal of thought, and it stood for a long time with one finger pressed upon its forehead (the position in which you usually see Shakespeare, in the pictures of him), while the rest waited in silence. At last the Dodo said, '*Everybody* has won, and *all* must have prizes.'" In Wonderland, Alice supplied the prizes and everybody was happy. At San Francisco, matters will be less simple.

The difficulty of judging the conference will vanish if it breaks up in dissension; or if a charter is concocted and then rejected by Washington, Moscow, or London; or if the charter, in a form acceptable to all, makes unmistakable provision for the replacement of anarchy by government in the community of nations. But none of these contingencies, sad or glad, is even remotely probable. The assembled delegates may, and doubtless will, run hither and thither like the creatures in the Caucus-race. Their home publics, however, expect from them some comforting assurance of enduring global peace involving not the slightest sacrifice of national sovereignty. They must therefore do what they can to persuade their publics that they have achieved the miracle of eating one's cake and having it too.

This objective, stemming from what Arnold J. Toynbee would call a "schism in the soul" of all contemporary patriots and peace-seekers, accounts for the labored official explanations of recent months. The conference, we are assured, is not a peace conference but a conference to insure peace. It will set up a league which will not really be a league. Neither will it be a super-government, nor indeed any government at all, and yet somehow it will govern. Such confusions will soon be worse confounded. Yet none of the major delegations can afford to go home in a huff. Neither can they accept any plan for limiting "the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," on which, under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the new structure is to be reared. The outcome will be another halfway house between world gov-

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ernment and world anarchy. John Doe and Joe Doakes, along with the Cabots and the Lowells (to say nothing of the Lodges), will have very little idea whether the result should be a source of enthusiasm or despair.

This curious situation, which will grow "curiouser and curiouser," reflects the universal dilemma of our time. It also echoes the contrite conviction of Americans that the United States should have joined the Wilsonian League in 1920. But now as always order, law, and justice are impossible in any community without government. Government in a community of states is possible either through the conquest of all states by one or through the partial surrender of local sovereignty to central authorities empowered to legislate for individuals. The first possibility is precluded by the unavailability of any Julius Caesar or Genghis Khan in today's world. (*Cf.* forthcoming obituaries of Hirohito and A. Hitler.) The second possibility is likewise precluded by the rejection of federalism as the basis of the new order. (*Cf.* the Atlantic Charter, the Mackinac Island declaration, the Moscow conference communiqué, the Connally resolution, and the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1944.) Both possibilities of effective world government are, for the present, as dead as the Dodo. There is no other possibility.

What will emerge will be a new League. It will have nothing in common with a global imperium or federation. Its organs will be without legislative power. Its members will seek to keep the peace through the collective coercion by all sovereignties of any sovereignty daring to take the sword. This arrangement, which has never worked, was correctly described by James Madison as a formula for war, by George Mason as a mixture of "fire and water," and by Alexander Hamilton as "one of the maddest projects ever devised." But a century and a half later earnest souls continue to insist, contrary to all reason, that peace can be had in this fashion. They persist, absurdly, in calling the proposed charter a "constitution" and in demanding provisions to "review" treaties, to insure "justice," to protect the four freedoms, and to do a thousand other things which can never be done by an association of sovereignties but only by a government. The futility of these fantasies will be seen clearly at San Francisco only by Commander Stassen. But his pleas, or more probably his silent regrets, will not change the result.

How, then, is the work of the conference to be evaluated? The first requirement of clarity is to face facts and to discard current illusions and all the tortuous preoccupations of lawyers, liberals, and League fans with blueprints and clockwork. The paramount fact is that the only decisive centers of power in the world of tomorrow will be in America, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. The organization of peace is a problem of power politics. Power politics is not a wicked game of foreign diplomats. It is the only kind of politics possible in a world of sovereignties. It can be abolished only by feudalism, which the United Nations have repudiated. It can never be abolished by a League of Nations, nor can a League *per se* possibly keep the peace, indispensable as it will be to promote other purposes. In the kind of world which the United Nations have already decided they want, peace can be kept only by a Grand Alliance of America, Britain, and Russia.

Given such an alliance, or a reasonable and workable facsimile thereof, it will not matter in the least how many smaller states join or fail to join, for peace will be secure. Without such an alliance, it will likewise not matter what other states do or refuse to do, for world peace will be lost. The Covenant which Wilson brought home from Paris was less important than the Anglo-French-American alliance he had signed. Had the latter been accepted, the rejection of the former would have been unfortunate but not fatal. A League without a firm alliance at its core is futile and feckless as a means to peace in a world of sovereignties. No amount of verbiage or wishful thinking will change these stubborn realities. If they are forgotten or evaded at San Francisco, the ultimate result will be failure.

The most persistent delusion threatening tragedy at the Golden Gate is the notion that the coming world order will be "democratic" and capable of keeping peace only if the small states have an equal voice with the great powers. In reality it is a negation of democracy to give the United States and Guatemala, Great Britain and Luxembourg, the Soviet Union and Norway an equal voice. Democracy means that people are to be counted as equal. To count states as equal is to count people as unequal. It is also to take control of the destinies of the world out of the hands of the great powers, which alone have power to keep the peace, and put it into the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy of the impotent. Peace for the next generation depends exclusively on Anglo-American-Soviet solidarity. On this also depend the rights and indeed the very existence of small states. If the Big Three fall apart, the small and the weak will all inevitably be trampled down anew in the combat of the giants.

These considerations provide a yardstick for judgment. The conference will fail if Washington, London, and Moscow become embroiled in a meaningless dispute over who should have three or six or twenty votes in the Assembly. It will likewise end in futility if the Assembly is given equal power with the Council—for equal power here will mean no power; or if the United States refuses to sign an alliance; or if the existing alliances among Britain, the U. S. S. R., France, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia are subject to control by the League; or if the American Senate proposes amendments or reservations to the charter. The conference will have achieved its major goal only if it devises an instrument whereby America, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. can act together, swiftly and effectively, against peace-breakers. Great power entails great responsibility. It is susceptible of great abuse. But weak power or no power means anarchy and more war in the days ahead. An alliance is not a government. It offers no guaranty of justice. It does offer a possibility, now the only possibility, of order and peace. There will be neither in the world of tomorrow, and therefore no possibility of moving toward law and justice, without an enduring concert of power among Washington, London, and Moscow.

This fact was wisely recognized in Senator Vandenberg's proposal of January 12 and has long been insisted upon by the Soviet Union. Republican or Communist indorsement does not make the proposal wrong or right. It is right only because politics is the art of the possible, and nothing else is possible. To reject it will be to play into the hands of the anarchists. Their ranks embrace all professional Anglophobes, Soviet-haters, and "nationalists"—and all who shed tears for the Baltic states and Poland and insist that democ-

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racy and Marxism are irreconcilable. If so, there can be no peace. And if more war comes because of the refusal of anarchists, appeasers, and perfectionists to face realities, let no one suppose that such a war will promote justice or law or the rights of small nations or the security of America or the survival of capitalism or even the interests of the Roman church.

Success at San Francisco will require an unflinching facing of realities and an end of the current mysticism of muddle-minded liberals, subtle obstructionists, and sponsors of war between Muscovy and the Atlantic powers. It will require that a Grand Alliance be made the core of the new League. The task of Americans in furthering victory in the battle for peace, and in rendering a verdict on the campaign which lies ahead, is a task to which they will prove equal only if they give concrete meaning to the words of their lost leader: "We must continue to be united with our allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace, if necessary by force. . . . It is useless to win a war unless it stays won. . . . We are not fighting for, and we shall not attain, a Utopia. We have set ourselves a long and arduous task. That task calls for the judgment of a seasoned and mature people. . . . We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust. . . . We must wage the coming battle for peace and civilization in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought."

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE German drama is drawing to its end amid the horror of decayed bodies and evidences of unrelieved brutality. The great military actions are nearly done, and in these moments which seem in a way almost anti-climactic many Americans are finding their minds most filled with startling intimations that the Germans are perhaps not very nice people. Many of us never quite believed these things when the news of them came from Russia or Poland or Czechoslovakia; but in the last ten days a tremendous hardening of the American feeling toward Germany and the peace has taken place with the reading of the reports from Buchenwald and other camps. It is good to hear that General Eisenhower has invited some Congressmen and editors to view these monuments. It is even more appropriate that those curiously incurious Germans who lived so near during the terrible years are being taken on guided tours through the stinking barracks and past the rows of naked corpses beyond the crematoria, to live with the memory of what has been done in their name, or like the mayor and mayoress of Weimar to come home and slit their wrists.

Berlin has chosen a more grandiose suicide, resisting the extraordinarily powerful and skilful Red Army offensive from the long-prepared jumping-off points west of the Oder. The city should be devastated by the time this reaches print, and the Allies should have joined hands across the fallen Reich. We can then expect the peculiar spectacle of a defeated nation which does not quit, a country without a capital which continues to fight, a decimated and incoherent army which maintains isolated but effective resistance. All this—Buchenwald hardening our hearts, the impossibility of a German surrender, the devastation of German cities and industry, the failure to get in a crop with consequent starvation next winter—makes the immediate problem of "what to do with Germany" take on a comparatively academic shade. There may well be so little left of Germany as to make that problem fade into insignificance.

The British campaign to recapture southern Burma has got off to a good start with a seventy-mile advance southward from Myitkyina toward Rangoon—an advance accomplished through the jungle in twelve days, in which 3,500 Japanese were killed. The Japanese are resisting strongly as they attempt to relieve the flight of stragglers from the central Burma pocket, but this drive down the main Burma railway will prove difficult to stop. The British Fourteenth Army has already demonstrated its courage, tenacity, and skill in the Burma fighting, and it now seems well on the road to victory in that out-of-the-way theater which so seldom breaks into the headlines. The recent campaign has been a brilliant one, and the Japanese have in fact lost as many troops in Burma as they have in all the Central Pacific fighting. The debt of '42, when the British absorbed such a terrible beating, has been largely repaid; and a truly Allied army—British, Americans, Chinese, Indians, West Africans, Burma hill tribes—has followed with distinction the advice of General Joseph Stilwell, offered when he led that awful retreat: "I claim we got a hell of a beating. I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it."

The capture of Mandalay a month ago was the culmination of one phase of the campaign, and led directly to the entrapment of some 50,000 soldiers of the Japanese Fifteenth Army, which was cut off from all supplies and robbed of air support by the superb work of the R. A. F. and U. S. A. A. F. Some 10,000 Japanese were killed in the operations leading up to this great encirclement, and many more have been killed since. Prior to the encirclement, the Fourteenth Army was operating on a front of over 400 miles between the Bay of Bengal and the northern Shan States—not, of course, a continuous front as in Europe, but with columns acting independently, widely scattered through the hills and woods, and often supplied solely by air. This army advanced in eleven months, through country which is the most difficult in the world for a modern fighting force to move through, more than the distance between Moscow and Berlin.

Nor has this massive achievement been the only activity of the Allies in Burma. On the Fourteenth Army's right flank, the Fifteenth Army Corps in Arakan has destroyed a considerable portion of the enemy's Twenty-eighth Army,

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and on the left flank the Northern Combat Area Command —Chinese, with some British and American troops, under the American General Sultan—has contained most of the Japanese Thirty-third Army.

There has been plenty of bad news from Burma: first defeat, then slow progress, delays, shortages of supplies, friction among British and Americans and Chinese; but despite all these difficulties much has been accomplished in the past few months. British and American air forces have operated in the closest cooperation; on the ground, troops of many nations have scored victories side by side. Admiral Mountbatten, with General Slim carrying the ball for him as commander of the Fourteenth Army, has won the first large-scale continental victory over the Japanese in this war.

As we move into the final phases of the war, details leak out here and there which show the enormous technological advances we have made in the science of killing one another off—so that God can start again with the insects, presumably. Among recent developments which have attracted my attention, in addition to the new U. S. A. A. F. incendiary bomb described in an earlier issue, are the following:

Curtiss-Wright has in production, and the navy has in combat, a new version of the Helldiver, called the Beast, or SB2C-4, which carries more than 1,000 pounds of bombs in the fuselage and 1,000 under the wings, where it also mounts two twenty-millimeter cannon and eight five-inch rockets. This aircraft, which has double the bomb capacity of the old navy dive-bomber, has a range of 1,000 miles.

Allied troops in Europe have been employing the rocket barrage, first used by the navy in the Pacific to cover beach landings. A group of 12 projectors, each with 32 barrels, produces a concentration of fire comparable to that of 280 field guns firing 100-pound shells, but only 200 gunners are needed as against the 3,000 gunners necessary for a like effort with artillery. Of course, the rocket barrage is not so accurate—yet.

The R. A. F.'s eleven-ton volcano bomb, dropped from the huge and eminently successful Lancaster bomber, has proved particularly effective. As the Canadian Wartime Information Board points out matter-of-factly, "The explosion of one volcano bomb is comparable to a full salvo from ten fourteen-inch guns of the 35,000-ton battleship, H. M. S. King George V, with the exception that in the case of the bomb the fire is concentrated in one spot." The Lützow, Germany's last pocket battleship, was sunk in Swinemünde harbor last week by one of these bombs which landed sixty feet away; in this case, a miss is as good as a hit down the funnel, for the underwater concussion smashes the armor and lets the water in. The Admiral Scheer, another pocket battleship, and the Tirpitz have been sunk with this bomb, a prototype of which was dropped experimentally on a small granite island off the British coast before it was used in combat. The experiment was a great success: the Ordnance Survey was informed it could leave the island off its maps.

It was announced recently that the Allies captured in France the firing site of a battery of 50 underground guns with barrels of 6-inch caliber and *400-foot length*, which were to fire 120-pound rocket shells on London, 95 miles away, at the rate of 10 per minute. The enemy plan was to keep rescue workers and A. R. P. personnel under cover while V-1 and V-2 did their big damage.

I plan to discuss these matters at some length with anyone in San Francisco who will lend an ear.

What the Conference Can Do

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

AT DUMBARTON OAKS last summer the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China drew up a plan for the political, economic, and social cooperation of the "peace-loving" nations to prevent war and improve living conditions throughout the world. This agreement was an event of the first magnitude, for everybody accepts it as axiomatic that any security organization that is to have the shadow of a chance must be founded upon the consent of the victorious great powers.

The plan, however, was not simply one of great-power collaboration. It called for the constant participation of the lesser states. How essential this is in the economic and social field needs no demonstration. How important it is for security is easily realized if we consider what could have happened in the early stages of Nazi aggression if Germany's neighbors had been actively associated with the great powers in a strongly integrated protective system.

It was because the United States and Britain, at least, fully realized the necessity of the whole-hearted participation of the lesser states that the Dumbarton text was not simply communicated for comment and acquiescence, but was presented as the basis of discussion at an eventual conference of all the United Nations. That is the great issue for the San Francisco meeting—how to make the projected organization one that will elicit the warm support of the smaller nations without seriously reducing its capacity for effective action.

In the interval since Dumbarton Oaks many states not represented there have made it abundantly clear that they will not cheerfully accept the plan without changes. France and the Latin American nations are worried about the organization's control over regional arrangements. A number of governments want larger powers to be assigned to the General Assembly so that the small states, which are all represented in that body, may have a greater share in directing the work of the organization as a whole. Others want an explicit guaranty of territorial integrity and political independence, which is so far missing in the text. Others—seconded by Senator Vandenberg—urge a clear statement of the general principles, such as "justice," by which the

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Security Council is to be guided in its action. Some states, led by Canada, are asking that at least two of the non-permanent members of the Security Council be always elected from the group of "middle" powers. Others—here again with Senator Vandenberg's support—propose that the organization should have authority to recommend revision of treaties and adjustment of situations that are working injustice. Various other alterations and additions are being pushed in this quarter and that, but those mentioned are the ones about which most will be heard.

Moscow, it appears, doesn't want amendments. It would like to regard the Dumbarton text as a firm agreement among the greatest powers, not to be altered to meet the desires of the weak. What, then, is the purpose of the conference at San Francisco? Is it to be another Congress of Vienna, with an inner group announcing its decisions to a mob of waiting delegates?

For the United States, on the contrary, it has been intimated that proposed amendments will receive careful study. Here is a further manifestation of that same wisdom which abandoned the claim to a multiple vote. The conference of San Francisco is not to be a gigantic rubber stamp; it is to be a genuine congress, where all invited participants will have a real share in decision. Nor is this soft-headed quixotism. It is common sense and good business. The governments of the United States and Britain know that the active good-will of small nations will save lives and treasure in the main job of keeping the peace.

It is not realism to present the alternatives in world affairs as the pure white of universal federation and the dead black of "power politics." The *real* thing is the infinite variety of devices in between. What human society has ever lived by any body of logically consistent principles or, for any length of time, by any body of principles remotely approaching consistency? The business of men just isn't conducted that way.

So a workable mixture of power and "constitutionality" can be devised at San Francisco, and the possibilities of compromise between Big-Three domination and community control have not been exhausted by the text drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks.

Is there any need, for example, to keep the clause which forbids the Assembly to "make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council"? Senator Vandenberg is attacking it, and his views will find a sympathetic echo in many delegations at the conference. If a two-thirds' majority in the General Assembly holds that a dispute is not making satisfactory progress in the Security Council, there is much to be said for the liberty to give formal expression to its concern. More doubtful, but still worthy of serious consideration, is the suggestion that a decision by the Security Council to apply sanctions should call for positive action only from states represented on the Council unless and until it is confirmed by a two-thirds' vote in the General Assembly. The idea has distinct merits. The chief responsibility for action will in any case fall on states in the Council, and this proposal, without paralyzing that body's capacity for action, would put a wholesome curb on the ambition of weak states to be represented there.

Nor should the San Francisco conference summarily dismiss the proposal to make explicit provision for the revision of treaties and adjustment of inequitable situations. This, indeed, like the principle of justice, is implicit in the present text. The Council may well have to urge revisions and adjustments in its business of keeping the peace. Revisions and adjustments, again, may well be the subject of recommendations by the General Assembly touching "the maintenance of international peace and security," under Chapter V, B, 1. More effective work in this connection will probably be done by proceedings in the Council under Chapter VIII, A, 3-5, than by formal recommendations. Territorial settlements, moreover, will probably have to be exempt from revision proceedings for an indefinite period after this war. The knowledge that territorial settlement could be brought up at any time for discussion would be a disturbing factor in Europe for years to come. But with this exception an explicit recognition of the need for "peaceful change" is on the whole desirable.

Relations between the United Nations organization and regional associations promise some difficulty at San Francisco. Here, by the way, is a part of the plan which should confound those who describe the proposed general organization as mainly a disguise for the unlimited play of power politics. The great powers represented at Dumbarton Oaks adopted a system which precludes free particular alliances, one of the prominent features of power politics in history. The leading advocate of amendment here is France, officially recognized as a great power but not a participant in the meeting at Dumbarton Oaks. France wants its defensive agreement with the Soviet Union to operate without waiting for authority from the United Nations organization. The Latin American countries also oppose a system which would give non-American states the power to veto action by the Union of American Republics.

What can be done to meet these reservations? As far as France is concerned, its fears might be removed by a temporary exemption from control for arrangements rising out of this war and directed against a resumption of German aggression. The Latin American claim will be harder to satisfy. Partial satisfaction might be given by putting into the charter of the United Nations a clause permitting immediate action by regional associations in defined circumstances. Action might even be permitted in unforeseen emergencies with a proviso of immediate notification to the Security Council and liability to complete justification before that body of all measures actually taken. But the principle of United Nations control should not be abandoned. If it is, the way will be open to competing and conflicting "security" blocs which would eventually break up or paralyze the general organization.

The veto of the great powers on the use of force against themselves will probably have to stand, though it is clearly inconsistent with ideal justice, Whatever we might do on paper, we cannot alter this in fact until the world is ready to submit to one centralized government with a monopoly of force. But one anomaly rising from the Yalta agreement should be removed. A great power that is party to a dispute cannot veto consideration of the dispute or recommendations on it, but it can veto proceedings on disputes to which it

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is not a party. Was this an oversight? Why should Britain, for example, which cannot veto consideration of a dispute in which it is itself involved, be able to stop proceedings in one involving Canada or Persia?

Other important issues will arise at the conference. Among them will be one which even the briefest sketch cannot pass over in silence. This is a demand that has more support at the moment from private agencies than from governments. What place should be found in the program of the United Nations for basic human rights? In the present text there is only the brief statement that "the organization should . . . promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." A great many people are dissatisfied with this vague gesture. Some want an international bill of rights with all the mechanism of enforcement. Others would be content at this stage if all the United Nations subscribed to such a bill and undertook to apply it so far as possible in their respective circumstances.

This poses a real problem. It is too early yet to saddle an untried League with the difficult business of compelling nations to treat their own citizens according to a common set of rules. This would involve constant intervention in the international affairs of states. But to put a list of universal rights in the charter and not support it by enforcement is to risk cynical disillusionment. Between these pitfalls the delegates must carefully pick their way. Probably they will emerge with another declaration of the rights of man, on the ground that in certain great historic documents, with one of which all Americans are familiar, such declarations have profoundly influenced subsequent developments.

The charter that emerges from San Francisco should not and will not be identical with the text of Dumbarton Oaks. There is reason to expect that the changes will be in the direction of more efficient operation, with some mitigation of the anxieties now troubling the common run of states. It is not realism to think or speak as if the delegates and advisers were about equally divided between knaves and fools. Most of us know men of high integrity and wisdom among them. They will bring back no perfect assurance of perpetual peace. But given the amount of honesty and capacity represented there, it is wholly reasonable to hope from San Francisco something infinitely better than, on the one hand, a glorified debating society or, on the other, a naked alliance of the great.

Will Franco Fall?

BY SIDNEY WISE

A FOREST of upraised arms in fascist salute and the triple chant of "Fran-co, Fran-co, Fran-co" cheered the Generalissimo. It was the fifth anniversary of "the uprising" of 1936—of the day Franco led the rebellion of reaction against a legally elected democracy and the hemorrhage began in Spain which lasted almost three years, the day that opened the Spanish civil war and lifted the curtain on World War II. On July 17, 1941, members of the National Council, commemorating this anniversary, listened intently as the Caudillo proclaimed that the Allies had lost the war. In World War II, he said, "the first battles were joined and won on our soil." Now, he went on, "the war has taken a bad turn for the Allies, and they have lost it."

In February of 1942 Franco was still certain of German victory, and promised that "if there were one moment of danger, if the road to Berlin were to be opened, it would not be one division of volunteers that would go, but a million men would offer themselves." Ever since, by deed and word, he has been on the side of what he has termed "our fascist comrades." He sent his Blue Division to fight with the German army against the Russians. He let Spain serve as a convenient supply and espionage base for the Nazis. He sent volunteer workers to aid in German war plants. As a "neutral" he was Goebbels's most valued mouthpiece. The dossier on his pro-Axis activities bulges with evidence.

So Franco will fall, say the idealists. Franco was backed by Mussolini and Hitler in his seizure of power; the state that Franco built was patterned after the Axis states and cannot survive the defeat of its German-Italian parents. The idealists cite chapter and verse on the vows made to extirpate fascism. They quote from Cordell Hull, from the principles of the United Nations, from Franklin D. Roosevelt. Many are convinced that the inevitable moral collapse of fascism after German defeat will penetrate totalitarian Spain and in some strange way depose Franco.

If you understand the totalitarianism of Spain, you will not be so sure. Study Franco as the dictator and the opportunist, trace the record of Anglo-American diplomacy, and it is difficult to escape pessimism. Look at Spain on the map and picture Franco's position after German defeat. Surrounding him will be the France of De Gaulle, who has shown no sign of taking a strong anti-Franco position; the Portugal of Salazar, who feels that the strengthening of Franco's hand is the best guaranty of his own regime; the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, a war-sick world.

When the fighting ends in Europe, there will be a great ache for peace, continued peace. A back-to-peace-time "normalcy" movement will set in. The sentiment will be exploited by pro-Franco propaganda. "Keep Franco in power or see civil war in Spain," will be the new bogy. But the old bogy will be used too. After German defeat Franco will take Hitler's place in shouting that he is defending the world against the "red menace," that he is Europe's last bulwark against communism. In this role Franco will seek support from those who regard Communist Russia as a greater menace than fascist Spain.

Already he is applying a coat of post-war whitewash over the Axis colors of his fascist state. Last November he declared that his regime was "a democracy." Now, apparently, he is getting ready to scrape off many of the traditional

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fascist trappings. Reports from Spain last week predicted that the fascist salute no longer would be obligatory, that the Falangist Party might be limited or even liquidated, that political executions might stop.

Radio Berlin's warning to Spain last October has been ignored. Certain circles, said the broadcast, referring to those who wished to preserve their own form of Spanish fascism by cooperating with the Allies, "feed on the hope that it is possible in the midst of a war to change from one moving train to another without losing their ideological baggage, social order, and national existence." Franco has made the jump. He has changed to the Allied victory train and pasted the sticker of democracy on his ideological baggage without losing his equilibrium. The uninvited guest is still on the Allied train and is trying to make himself presentable enough to ride on into the peace and the post-war world.

Inside Spain there is little evidence that Franco will fall. Fascism inside Spain is not just a word, nor is it a Roman salute or a blue shirt. It is a machine which controls life—everything from jobs to newspapers. It is a complicated modern mechanism made up of tanks, radio, propaganda, Gestapo methods. The day has passed when an enraged people could march with sticks and stones upon the castle of the wicked king and make everyone happy.

Franco has a band of Falangist Party fanatics ready to defend the regime against all odds. He fed the armed forces over 26 per cent of the 1944 national budget of a Spain "at peace." Most of the top leaders of this pampered army still support the dictator. Franco holds a bayonet at Spain's back, and cold steel commands more obedience than hot words. He has the planes, the tanks, the ships, the heavy artillery. He has a secret police system which has checkerboarded Spain into squares of vigilance. No one moves from one city to the next without presenting credentials to the police. Every apartment house has an agent—usually the superintendent—who reports to the chief of his street, who in turn reports to the chief of his district, who in turn reports to the chief of the city. Practically all Republicans and even mildly anti-Franco elements are cross-indexed in police files. Some are forced to report to headquarters every week. No one moves, works, reads, or speaks unless it is in the approved Falangist pattern.

Because of military considerations Anglo-American diplomacy has followed a policy of passive and negative support of the status quo in Spain. Franco has profited enormously from these six years of expediency. Military considerations are no longer operative, but Allied policy toward Franco has not yet changed. Franco is trying desperately not to have it change, for he knows that if it doesn't his regime will have established its bridgehead in the post-war world. Without a radical change in United Nations diplomacy, the Franco regime will stand even as fascism falls all over the map of Europe. It will continue to drop its fascist poison into the caldron of global peace.

Eventually, however, Franco's fascism will decay from within, and then its overthrow will be written in rivers of blood. In the meantime, every day of its existence will put the mark of failure on United Nations diplomacy—a failure in sharp contrast to the achievements of United Nations armies.

In the Wind

GOVERNOR CHAUNCEY SPARKS of Alabama is expected to ask the state legislature, which convenes May 1, to repeal the poll tax. The South Carolina Senate has passed a resolution authorizing a referendum on repeal next year, and political observers on the scene think the House will pass it soon. Meanwhile, T. Grady Head, Attorney General of Georgia, has minimized the effect of repeal in his state by ruling that all past-due poll taxes must be paid before the right to vote is granted. In fairness to Governor Arnall, who fought for repeal, it should be pointed out that Mr. Head was elected, not appointed.

H. R. 1528, the "G. I. assault bill," which would provide for federal prosecution of any person assaulting or killing a member of the armed forces, is languishing in the House Judiciary Committee. It was introduced January 16.

THE GOOD GRAY COLUMNIST: Radio Station WNYC, New York, presented a half-hour reading from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" by Eugene O'Neill, Jr., on April 14. The New York *Post* listed the program as "Reading of Walter Lippmann's 'Leaves and Grass.'"

THE WEEKLY market letter of Paine, Webber, Jackson, and Curtis, stockbrokers, for April 7 contained this optimistic note: "If Japan should repudiate her conquests and meet Allied surrender terms sooner than our military believes, and mayhap this year, the American economy and its markets are then supposed to sustain a severe shock. Granting the Japanese are treacherous, and might suddenly throw in the sponge, we find it difficult to become depressed contemplating such a prospect."

THE KELLEY KAR COMPANY of Los Angeles is currently advertising that it will include four cartons of cigarettes in the price of any used car it buys.

CHARLES M. BURGESS, an industrialist of Aurora, Illinois, put forth this plan for keeping the peace at a recent meeting of the Elgin Kiwanis Club: "Literally and completely annihilate the Japanese nation. Then turn Japan over to the Chinese. If the Japanese nation is not annihilated, the next really big war will be Russia and Japan together against the white race." He said he was a realist.

IN THE WEEKLY CHESS PROBLEM published by the French newspaper *Les Lettres Françaises,* the bishops are represented by little figures wearing the cap and bells of a court jester.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Dr. Goebbels Talks to Himself

BY JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

FIRST of all we must get out of Germany. It is dangerous here now. We could take that big plane—Adolf, myself, Heinrich, Hermann, and Ribbentrop—and make for America. This idea of a trial is wonderful. I'll fix up a declaration of surrender, quoting American and British statements that we shall have a 'fair trial.' Very simple. We'll give ourselves up to the Americans because they have promised to treat us justly, according to proper legal form. Americans hate to have a bad conscience. They still have an inferiority complex over Wilson's Fourteen Points.

"The safest thing would be to land right in Washington. People there are so far away from everything. In the first surprise they might shout, but not shoot. The Spanish Ambassador and his staff will make the necessary arrangements and meet us at the airport. By the time the newspapers are on the streets—I can see the headline: Hitler and Goebbels in Washington—we shall be in safe custody. From then on it will be easy, even entertaining.

"The man—or was it a woman?—who invented this 'fair-trial' idea ought to receive the Iron Cross. We're luckier than Napoleon was. The Congress of Vienna just said: 'Napoleon has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and as enemy and disturber of the peace of the world he is delivered to public vengeance.' Now, for us, no vengeance, but strict legal justice in a real court with judge and jury. These idiots!

"First of all we'll have a rest. Somewhere in the country, I suppose. Adolf needs it—he has been so nervous since Remagen. I wouldn't mind a little quiet myself after the strain of the last few months. And we'll be safe all right. They will have to protect us as the common property of all the United Nations, held for trial by the Americans as trustees. If anybody tries to get at us our guards will never know whether it is with the intention of liberating us or of killing us. We may even have the unexpected pleasure of seeing some anti-Nazis shot in our interest—for the sake of justice.

"It will take time to prepare for the trial. A brand-new international 'commission' will be needed, with plenty of experts. There are so many questions to be settled: the place of the trial, the composition of the court, who is to be the presiding judge and who the prosecutor, what language shall be used, who shall be called as witnesses, and so on. No single nation will want to be excluded from this work of justice. It should take six months to a year before all the governments finally agree, perhaps even longer. And each will blame the others because we have not yet been punished.

"I'll see that the newspapers don't stop talking about us. Good publicity is important. I wonder whether we will be permitted to see the reporters. Adolf must ask one day for a priest—prayer, confession, and all that. People must be made to wonder whether we have become repentant sinners. Perhaps a pious scene in the courtroom would be a good idea. Nazi Leaders Willing to Confess; Ask for Forgiveness and Just Punishment. There will be surprises. Surprises make headlines.

Dr. Goebbels

"Eventually the International Commission will succeed in settling all the differences about procedure, and the members of the court will be appointed. We shall still have plenty of time. In a 'fair trial' we can demand our own lawyers. We will ask to have lawyers from Germany, from Switzerland, and so on; perhaps one from South Africa. The trial will have to wait until they arrive. Then the court won't be able to refuse the lawyers time to prepare the defense. That will take more months. After that, Adolf or Hermann or some of the lawyers might get sick, and the opening would have to be postponed. Anything can happen as time passes. One year, eighteen months, two years—*we* know how fast things can change.

"The trial must start, I suppose, sooner or later. By then we shall be rested, and well prepared for the game. First the talking will be done by our lawyers; it is a legal case, and every legal case has technical problems. No jurist can deny that the technical legal problems of our case are especially tricky. There are no precedents, no Supreme Court decisions. Our lawyers will bring up hundreds of legal questions about which legal authorities could write scholarly volumes.

"And of course every word will have to be translated because it would not be 'fair' to conduct proceedings in a language the 'defendants' don't understand.

"The court will probably overrule the legal objections of our lawyers. Then we will accuse them of having broken their promise about a fair trial and of violating the fundamental principles of justice of Western civilization. We will ask for the withdrawal of all members of the court who are prejudiced against us, anyone who has ever stated that the Nazi leaders are criminals or who harbors any sentiment of hatred against the defendants. Some members of the court may really withdraw. If not, they will at least feel uncomfortable and try to be as 'fair' and just as possible. We will be free to give long explanations to the prosecutor. We will make speeches.

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"What speeches! Naturally there will be microphones in the courtroom. Millions of people in all countries will sit at their radios and listen to us. I swear we'll make the cleverest speeches of our careers. And we won't speak as repentant sinners. We will shout to those millions that our enemies are hypocrites until they believe it themselves. Our crimes? We will prove, out of their own history books, that similar crimes have been committed everywhere, sometimes by men who are honored as national heroes. Violations of human rights? We will quote from American, British, French books about the Bolshevists and Stalin. As for the Jews, people who dislike Jews will love what we say about them.

"We can bring up some embarrassing facts, too. We will remind Anthony Eden of his agreeable behavior when he was negotiating that British-German navy pact which legalized the construction of our submarines. We will demand, as witnesses, all those fine gentlemen from England and America who seven, eight, ten years ago encouraged us to prepare a little crusade against Soviet Russia. Ribbentrop might also cite some pages of his diary having to do with his friendly talks with the Russians and his visit to Moscow six years ago just before we started the whole thing. We can tell some tales they've never heard and some they'd like to forget.

"After all, everyone has to die sometime. But by that time, who knows, we may appear as martyrs and heroes. And that would be our last dirty trick on the United Nations. We will leave them a nice mess of confusion, disunity, and bad conscience. We may even become the founders, in death, of a new world-wide Nazi movement. Heil Hitler!"

The New French Press

BY ETIENNETTE GALLOIS

THE question which was put to us, as French journalists, most frequently during our visit in the United States was what is the new French press like. It was, of course, usually journalists and publishers who asked this question. The American public as a whole was interested in other things. But the new French press is a subject of real importance, and America should know more about it.

France has had to make over its press almost entirely since liberation. The pre-war press had to be discarded because it had failed in its mission, which was to inform the people, not as an irresponsible body outside or above the interests of the nation, but with a will to defend the true interests of France.

Formerly anyone with money could start a newspaper—to which there can be no objection in a free country. But it so happened that all the leading publishers in France were tied to big financial or industrial enterprises which were much more concerned to advance their personal and private interests than those of the country. As a result our pre-war press became closely involved in that unofficial collaboration with the Germans which was so prevalent in big-business circles and, wittingly or unwittingly—the responsibility is the same in either case—spread Nazi propaganda in France. Lawsuits about to come to trial against these papers will perhaps expose to what extent they accepted Hitler's money, so generously distributed by Otto Abetz through De Brinon.

MADRID'S LITTLE RIBBENTROP

Now that Foreign Minister Lequerica, with the help of Ambassador Armour, is busy making Spain the most democratic country in the world and a devoted friend of American democracy, it may be interesting to recall that on the day Manila fell, Lequerica, then Spanish ambassador to France, clicked glasses with the German and Japanese ambassadors in a toast to the victorious Japanese army.

It would be interesting to reread now the newspapers printed in France before the war. Only in a few papers would one find warnings against the fifth column, against that treason in General Staff, Cabinet, and administrative officials which was to bring about our country's downfall. Most of the leftist papers took no part in the poisonous campaign of the Nazis, but neither did they put up any such strong and continuous fight against it—perhaps because they could not believe in the danger—as that carried on in *l'Humanité* by Gabriel Péri and Lucien Sampaix against Abetz and the Brown House in Paris and Georges Bonnet, whom Péri used to call the "Foreign Minister of French Affairs." Péri and Sampaix paid for their patriotism with their lives, after terrible torture.

All this makes it very clear that the duty of the press is not only to inform. Of course, in Herr Hitler's view the French people were kept well informed, but they were told nothing of the imminent danger, of the treason being organized everywhere, which could be perceived by even the less acute journalists. French finance capital had decided to collaborate with Hitler; the French press followed suit and lulled the country to sleep with meaningless news.

France fell—not because its armies were defeated but because Hitler's supporters had sabotaged war production and military defense. The collaborators believed that Hitler would share the country with them. But Hitler took it all, and the French people were turned into starving slaves. France's stern measures against the men who were most responsible, men who put their personal interests before those of the nation and who accepted foreign pay to support fatal policies, are healthy and unavoidable. Neither those men nor the press which helped to demoralize the people has any claim to respect or consideration.

But what is the new press like? Almost every one of the new papers was born of the underground press, which was launched and carried on by men who refused to let their country bow to Vichy. After overcoming the difficulties of printing and distribution, the underground press succeeded in revitalizing the French people and, working with the armed resistance movement, gave them back, first, their spirit and then the means to resist the invader by fighting and sabotage.

Of course a purely informative press could not have done this. The underground press was a responsible press, responsible for its influence on the reader, ready to be judged at any time by its readers and even by the whole world. Mere information might have had a disastrous effect on the wearied, battered spirits of the people. It was a press full of fight, which

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not only informed but comforted, which took a constructive view, which inspired its readers to action.

Out of the small clandestine leaflets came our present newspapers. They are still limited in size, limited in news-gathering facilities, being not yet able to maintain a network of correspondents all over the world. But they are determined to serve, or at least never to disserve, the interests of their country. If the aim of their country is to work with the Allies, no correspondent will want to give the impression that unity does not exist.

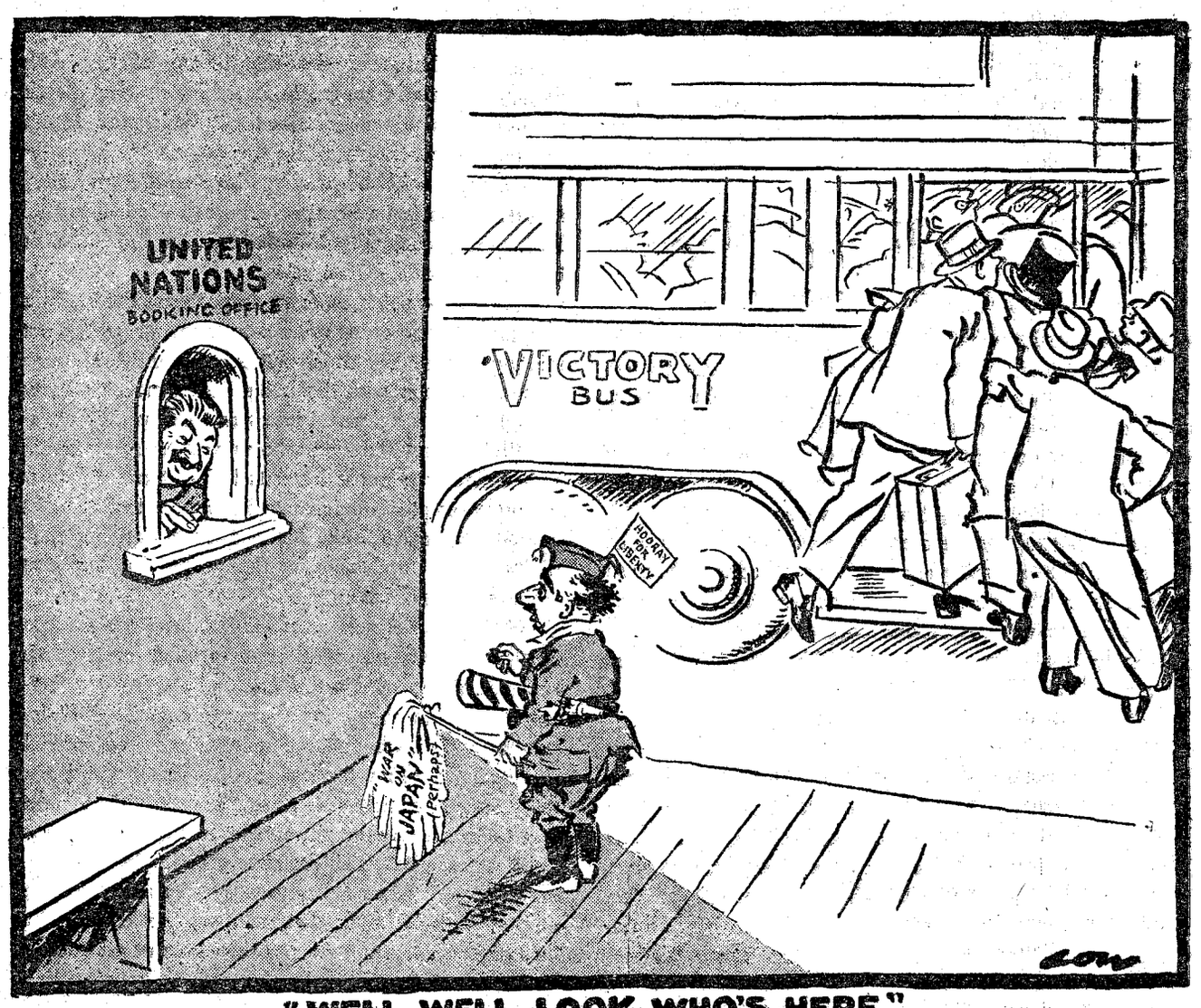
Journalists can of course express their personal opinions, but they cannot further a political line that is contrary to the people's interests. Each paper reflects a sector of public opinion and remains under its constant control.

The French press no longer belongs to one man or to a small group of rich men—at least it does not in my part of the country. Nor is it subject to government influence or control. The slightest pressure exerted by the government to influence the treatment of news has been immediately resented; newspapers today will not stand any censorship except that of military necessity.

The new press has steered clear of both dangers, governmental and capitalistic control, by the simple process of becoming a truly democratic press. The papers of my area all belong to political movements or parties which played a large role in the resistance. They have a publisher who is legally responsible, but the effective control is in the hands of a board of directors who are responsible for the political line and morally bound to the party or movement the paper represents.

We shall not again permit papers to receive money from foreign agents or from industrial or banking groups. Even under present conditions, with circulations often of only 40,000 copies, our newspapers are able to make money. Toulouse papers, wishing to give as much news as possible to their readers and being limited to the half-sheeet size, have carried only advertisements which were of real use to the people or the government. A paper's books and circulation lists are open to a government commission on which the Liberation Committee and the newspaper unions are represented.

Our press is free to criticize anyone and anything, as our ministers know, but criticism grounded on personal resentment or to serve private interests is ruled out. Neither individuals nor companies will get aid from the press in breaking a law which they consider prejudicial. Opposition and criticism must be constructive, used like the surgeon's scalpel, not otherwise. And if the press can build instead of undermine, praise instead of condemn, it will do that too. At all times it will reflect public opinion and lend its aid to all constructive efforts made by the people for the people.



"WELL, WELL, LOOK WHO'S HERE"

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

HAYEK: DIGESTED AND REDIGESTED

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

OPPONENTS of planning have lately drawn much encouragement and comfort from the writings of Friedrich A. Hayek, Anglo-Austrian economist whose "Road to Serfdom" was boiled down for popular consumption in the *Reader's Digest* of April, 1945, and reprinted for still wider distribution by the Book of the Month Club. Dr. Hayek repeats the familiar arguments for a free-market economy of the classical economists, but whereas they looked back to the eighteenth century for dreadful examples of the effects of "the dead hand of the state," he seeks his in contemporary Germany, Italy, and Russia. If, he asserts, all the means of production are vested in a single hand, whether it be that of "society" or a dictator, it means the exercise of total power and the loss of all democratic freedoms. He is therefore opposed to any conscious direction of the resources of society: in his opinion only the automatic action of the free market responding to supply and demand is a delicate-enough instrument to decide how they should be utilized.

But stout and able champion of the free market as he is, Dr. Hayek is not wholly opposed to government intervention in the economic field. In a passage which the *Reader's Digest* found indigestible and ignored he discusses "the supremely important problem of combating general fluctuations of economic activity and the recurrent waves of large-scale unemployment which accompany them." Its solution, he continues, "will require much *planning in the good sense*" (italics added), but unfortunately he does not give us his own views about the forms such planning should take. Instead he tells us: "Many economists hope, indeed, that the ultimate remedy may be found in the field of monetary policy, which would involve nothing incompatible with nineteenth-century liberalism." He also mentions large-scale public works, though with doubts about their efficacy and a warning of possible dangers. He adds, however, "In any case, the very necessary efforts to secure protection against these fluctuations do not lead to the kind of planning which constitutes such a threat to our freedom. The planning which has such an insidious effect on liberty is that for security of a different kind. It is planning designed to protect individuals or groups against diminutions of their income" ("The Road to Serfdom," p. 122).

In a later passage, after indorsing the idea of a basic minimum of sustenance for everybody, Dr. Hayek calls on us to admit "that with this assurance of a basic minimum all claims for a privileged security of particular classes must lapse, that all excuses disappear for allowing groups to exclude newcomers from sharing their relative prosperity in order to maintain a special standard of their own" (p. 210).

We have, then, a distinction between "good planning," which aims at expanding the total market, and "bad planning," which manipulates the market in favor of sectional interests and in the process tends to restrict it. The first, ideally, should give consumers more opportunity to exercise the "votes" that they cast when deciding how to employ their purchasing power; the second tends to gerrymander those votes.

As a witness for the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, Dr. Hayek appears something less than perfect. Moreover, his strongest words are directed against just that kind of government intervention which American business has not merely tolerated but instigated for 150 years. "Free" enterprise in this country has never, in fact, been willing to abide by the rules of the free market laid down by Adam Smith and restated by Dr. Hayek. Evasion of the rigors of competition is a deep-rooted habit in American business, and anti-trust laws have curbed but not cured it. Besides, private enterprise has constantly demanded government intervention and assistance. In the early days of the Republic, America's infant industries sought and received protection against foreign competition. *That* was planning for the benefit of industry at the expense of agriculture, *that* was interference in the free market, *that* was a conscious effort to direct the resources of society. Tariffs and subsidies have played a considerable part in establishing the pattern of American economy. They still do. Yet in any smoking-car one may hear men denouncing "planning" and demanding tariffs practically in the same breath.

One does not have to be a nineteenth-century liberal, accepting the dictatorship of the market over all social life, to agree that the creation of special economic privileges is usually a dangerous practice. Public props for particular trades hinder measurement of their relative efficiency, tend to produce a static economy, and thus lead to a waste of national resources. Moreover, it is the consumer who provides the real support. If supply and demand, instead of subsidies, determined cotton and silver prices, the capital and labor employed in the production of those commodities would shrink. But consumers who now must pay artificially high prices for shirts and spoons would be able to spend more of their incomes on, say, books and glassware, thus encouraging an expanded production of these articles.

This is hard doctrine, however, for those whose livelihood has been guaranteed by subsidies or tariffs and one they will find difficult to appreciate when widespread unemployment indicates a failure to make full use of national resources. When men and machines are rusting in idleness, who but a few orthodox professors of economics will dare to say that subsidies to cotton farmers or silver miners are inadmissible? Certainly politicians will not, no matter how hostile they are to the theory of a planned economy. As long as the

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BLACK BOY

"If enough such books are written, if enough millions of people read them, maybe, someday, there will be a greater understanding and a more true democracy."
—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, New York Times

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—HAMILTON BASSO, *The New Yorker*

"It should be read word for passionate word."—STERLING NORTH, *New York Post*

"In turning the leaves of his life, Richard Wright has turned many a bitter page of America's chronicle . . . He shows us again here the power of prose, the warm, urgent use of word and phrase that made us recognize his great talent as a writer in *Native Son*."—LILLIAN SMITH, *PM*

"A triumphant gain . . . *Black Boy* is the fulfilment of the knowledge and power that was intermittent in *Native Son* and the stories in *Uncle Tom's Children*."
—*The New Republic*

By the author of NATIVE SON

RICHARD WRIGHT

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fear of depression hangs over America, there can be no hope of cutting through the tangle of special privileges. A post-war slump will, in fact, magnify the problem, for during the war many new vested interests have been created. If the freezing hand of depression grips the land, both capital and labor will cling desperately to whatever shelters they have been able to secure; both will seek to preserve them by every means in their power, and in a democracy that includes political pressure. Only a dictator sharing Dr. Hayek's views could abolish special privilege in such circumstances.

To end planning for sectional interests, there must be planning in the interests of the whole community, planning that does not underwrite the standards of particular groups and individuals but seeks to maintain total consumption at a level making possible the total use of available man-power. Only when this end is achieved will it be possible to say to the silver miner: "You can no longer claim support from the public purse; other opportunities are now open." Or to the trade union: "With general security, the steps you took to limit entrance and thus protect your members' jobs are no longer necessary." Or to the shoe manufacturer: "We have enlarged your market by making sure everyone will be able to buy shoes; you, in turn, must get along without a tariff."

Dr. Hayek is now making a lecture tour of the United States in the course of which he will no doubt be lunched and dined by many chambers of commerce and other business groups. By talking about the tyranny of the state, the horrors of socialism, or the sins of trade unions he can win easy applause from the converted. But if he is really zealous in his mission to rehabilitate the free market, he should begin every speech by inviting his audience to come to the mourners' bench and make public confession of their crimes against the spirit of free enterprise. Let him denounce tariffs and other forms of protection; let him lash business combinations to maintain or increase prices; let him quote chapter and verse (the Department of Justice can furnish him with plenty of material) and not be content merely to preach "against sin." Such sermons may not be popular, but they will be good for the listeners' souls. And by studying the reactions of his audiences Dr. Hayek may learn a thing or two about the practice, as opposed to the theory, of American private enterprise.

Carl Becker

MANY scholars fall in love with the eighteenth century, and not a few try to imitate its attitudes. What distinguished the late Carl Becker, who died on April 10, was his genuine kinship with the great men of the age he so much admired and the complete absence of anything like affectation in either his manner of writing or his manner of thinking. No one was ever less the sedulous ape, and if reviewers inevitably remarked an "eighteenth-century quality" in his books, it was because clarity, skepticism, moderation, and good sense came naturally to him, not because he had consciously adopted any pose.

Born in Iowa in 1873, educated at the University of Wisconsin and at Columbia, he had been for nearly thirty years professor of history at Cornell, and he was the author of various books on American history. His "The Heavenly City

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THE ONE PEACE PLAN That Has Always Worked

You have read and listened to so much about peace that you probably feel nothing remains to be said. Yet, realizing this surfeit of peace articles, we have chosen one for the lead feature in the May AMERICAN MERCURY. It is that kind of article—one that simply cannot be by-passed by editor or reader. The way to permanent peace is not via the Yalta and San Francisco routes, not by repeating the mistakes of World Peace I, not by a League of Nations with a new name, nor by an international police force nor a universal debating society. Emery Reves has an idea—new in the discussion of future peace, yet tried and tested through many centuries. This distinguished writer and thinker, author of the widely acclaimed "Democratic Manifesto," expresses a concept so fundamental that all other proposed peace plans must be measured by it. Read "The New League and the Next War."

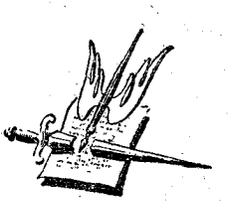
SHALL WE RETALIATE ON WAR PRISONERS?

The entire country is shocked, horrified, at the Nazi mistreatment of prisoners of war. Yet we hear rumors of extraordinary consideration for German prisoners in our hands. What is the truth of the matter? Precisely how do we handle our prisoners and why? Are they abused, mollycoddled, treated sensibly? Do they get food and privileges denied to our civilians? What is the effect of our policy upon German soldiers in the field and upon American prisoners in German hands? No less an authority than the Provost Marshal General himself, the officer in charge of all prisoners, describes our policies, methods, and results. This is the War Department report—official, authoritative, factual, detailed. Read "The Army Reports on Prisoners of War" by Major General Archer L. Lerch.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for May—NOW ON SALE

Are the oil wells and strategic needs in the Near East brewing a fresh cause of war? Read *The Big Three in the Near East* by Andre Visson. Read *Senator Ball of Minnesota*, a frank analysis by Roscoe Drummond. *East and West* by Pearl Buck will help you to understand the Orient. *The Behavior of Pain* by Betsey Barton is an important aid in removing the psychological barrier erected about our wounded veterans. Claire Phillips tells her own story of her career as an American spy in the Philippines, and Stewart H. Holbrook produces a history of Dorothea Dix who, a century ago, waged single-handed war for humane treatment of the insane. Rollin Kirby, dean of the American cartoonists, writes an appreciation of Low, the great British caricaturist. Channing Pollack tells good-humoredly about *The Plagiarism Racket*. There's Willard Shelton on *The Wartime Press and Labor*. Leona Alberts Wassersug writes about *Prostigmine—A New Wonder Drug*. There's a typical Mercury story by Marjorie Stengel. And we have George Jean Nathan and Alan Devoe, both in fine form, and the usual departments, *The Library*, *Check List*, and *Open Forum*. Altogether a vibrant, stimulating issue—varied, thought-provoking, readable.

Unpopular Truths



THE AMERICAN MERCURY is deservedly unpopular with ostriches and yes-men. That is because it does not hesitate to tell an unpopular truth, regardless of the price in circulation loss. It dares to make enemies. It has no vested interest in a point of view. It believes in facing dangers instead of ignoring them. It believes as a fundamental creed in the curative powers of the printed page. It dares to oppose facts to prejudices no matter how deep-seated. But for the sake of its own publishing conscience, it does not dare to distort, neglect, or conceal the truth. THE MERCURY "calls 'em as it sees 'em."

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of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers," published in 1932, introduced him to a new set of readers, and just last year "How *New* Will the Better World Be?" proved again how far he was from being a mere antiquarian, how conspicuously he was a philosopher who could bring the lessons of history to bear upon the problems of tomorrow.

No doubt the secret of Professor Becker's almost unique ability to be at home in two ages lay in the fact that what he took from the eighteenth century was not its specific beliefs or attitudes but its spirit and temper; so that, far from retiring into any past, he could think in modern terms about modern problems with the clarity and the lack of "enthusiasm" which he had recognized as congenial in Jefferson as well as in Diderot, D'Alembert, and Voltaire. It has been said that a conservative is a worshiper of dead radicals, but Professor Becker never forgot that they *were* radicals. He thought, not what they thought, but what they would have thought had they been alive today, and so neither caution nor a refusal to be stampeded ever made him either reactionary or even fundamentally conservative. His reasonableness, his urbanity, his lack of heat were the result of an assumption which his masters had made before him, namely, that his readers would be reasonable men, but he never supposed that his thinking should stop where his masters' had stopped or doubted that the man who is most like Voltaire is a man as near the forefront of his own time as Voltaire was near the forefront of his. No man was less likely to say what Shaw so shrewdly puts into the mouth of Roebuck Ramsden: "I was an advanced thinker before you were born."

Those who knew Professor Becker personally will perhaps remember best of all his modesty, his friendliness, his charm, and the absolute absence of any assumption of superiority. Anyone to whom he talked seemed to be his equal, and one may readily imagine that he was most at home, not in the classroom, but, like a true man of the Enlightenment, in a drawing-room.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BRIEFER COMMENT

In Search of the Good Society

IT IS A GOOD THING to read Dr. Harry W. Laidler's "Social-Economic Movements" (Crowell, $5) if for no other reason than to be reminded that the search for the good society has been going on for a long time, that it has been attended by a great deal of conflict, suffering, and disillusionment, and that it has not achieved its objective. Perhaps socialism is old hat: an outstanding American Socialist told me the other day that nobody is interested in socialism. Perhaps Earl Browder is speaking for an important branch of Marx's heirs when he brands "defeatist" the suggestion that American capitalism might conceivably want to stem the tides of social revolution in Western Europe. Perhaps Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen are today more immediately relevant than Marx himself. But anyone who has observed the eager gleam in the eye of the business man, banker, or industrialist who picks up the gospel according to St. Hayek knows that, alas, the age of social conflict has not passed.

Dr. Laidler presents a living history of those who dreamed

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of a juster world and were prepared to fight for it. He sketches the work of the utopian moralists and visionaries, the solid building of pioneers such as Robert Owen, and the development of the monumental body of scientific socialist thought through the labors and inspiration of Karl Marx. The new sections of the book discuss in detail the development of the Soviet state, throwing considerable light on the evolution of its economic plans and foreign policies and relating both to the shifts of the "party line" in countries outside of Russia. It describes the growth of the labor parties in the British Commonwealth and the decline of socialism here. It has a good section on the cooperative movement.

Perhaps its greatest weakness is that it is long on description, short on explanation. We are told a great deal about the Social Democrats in Germany, Austria, France, and other European countries, not enough about the sources of their failure and the main drives of National Socialism. In America the social passion behind the party led by Norman Thomas was in the '30's redirected to the support of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. Why? Now it appears to be reawakening in a vague and undogmatic way in the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. But in the new progressive movements in this country are there many signs of the basic social and economic analysis that characterized American socialism at its best? Perhaps one must look north of the border to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada to discover a popular movement in the true succession.

Dr. Laidler has brought the story almost up to date; American progressives had better not delay too long in planning the next chapter.

J. KING GORDON

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Life in Caracas

THE SCARCITY OF BOOKS ON VENEZUELA, rather than any considerable merit, earns notice for Olga Briceño's "Cocks and Bulls in Caracas" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.75). One has the sensation, in reading it, of taking part in an interminable telephone conversation with a talkative woman whom one knows to be charming and pretty. There are vivid passages of description, though for the most part the text is merely vivacious, with a conventional, upper-middle-class point of view as to what is witty, humane, or interesting about a very limited range of experience. Servants, hair fashions, saints, cock fights, love, or at least courtship and marriage, convent education, cooking, men as Men, and other such things are the author's themes. In the book's favor it must be said that it really does give an impression of upper-middle-class life in Venezuela and of people with whom persons of that class might be expected to come in contact. The author's love for her own land is warm and engaging, but persistent and superficial contrasting of American with Venezuelan life becomes tiresome after a while. These are severe things to say of a book; so I will confess that a week after reading it I still had the sensation of having talked with a lively and charming person.

For "Our American Neighbors" (Public Affairs Press, $3) I am afraid I cannot say a good word, and I mention it only because its provenance, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, might incline someone to buy this collection of pedagogic pamphlets. Not even in the public schools of Boston, I should imagine, does one need to be so evasive, not to say behind the times, as this book is.

RALPH BATES

Art, Science, and Psychiatry

I. S. WECHSLER, one of the country's outstanding physicians and the author of a well-known textbook on neurology, has assembled a group of essays on subjects ranging from Sigmund Freud to Palestinian colonization and rather arbitrarily called it "The Neurologist's Point of View" (L. B. Fischer, $3). His book gives evidence of considerable nonmedical learning, is not without wit, and is marked on occasion by a felicity of expression and a Hebraic vehemence which are reminiscent of Morris R. Cohen. But it is a sad comment on the present state of psychiatry that it is the only branch of medicine whose practitioners, or commentators, intend most of their books for lay distribution. Most of what Dr. Wechsler says about psychiatry, as a matter of fact, is adverse. He makes, for example, the conventional statement that it is still more of an art than a science, though obviously if it were a fine art this would be praise—indeed, it would suggest the very type of resourcefulness the psychiatrist as an individual must possess. The significance of its successes would then be related to their infrequency, as it no doubt actually is; and psychiatry would perhaps even be doomed as a distinct profession.

Dr. Wechsler's most interesting suggestion is that nowadays, for social and cultural reasons, "the neuroses tend to manifest themselves at higher psychic levels rather than at the lower physical or somatic levels" upon which they appeared in former years; for the crudity of the chief psycho-

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analytic concepts ("conflict, repression, the unconscious, the role of the sex impulse, transference") probably corresponds in some measure to the grossness of the disorders they were originally designed to deal with. Psychoanalysis, he seems to feel, will survive as a means of diagnosis rather than of therapy, though he fails to observe that it tends to commit the intellectualist fallacy of virtually identifying the two. He is not addicted to consistency, denouncing Adlerian psychology, which he applies with some qualification to the Jews, as an "evolution-defying concept that out of a biologic defect comes a biologic purpose," remarking later on, nevertheless, that "neurosis may . . . add to one's mental stature." Indeed, his negative attitude toward psychiatry is best exemplified by his insistence on the relation of talent to disability. This, of course, as Lionel Trilling points out in the current *Partisan Review*, is not merely a conventional notion but a highly questionable one; perhaps the most that can be said for it is that it recognizes the fact that though disorder is never the outcome of intellectual achievement it is often its precondition. In that sense art, in fact even science, may be said to go with "maladjustment"; but obviously psychic health means not simply "adjustment" but, above all, the *capacity* for adjustment. MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Miniature Perspective

BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS of India are difficult, they lend themselves to countless analyses and solutions by countless experts. In "Strangers in India" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2) Penderel Moon has given a perceptive account of them through the eyes of a British Civil Service officer in charge of one of the peasant districts. The jacket blurb tells us that Mr. Moon spent fifteen years in the Indian Service, and if he does not give us a perfect report of the state of India, he does give us a creditable insight into how the British functionary thinks.

Mr. Moon considers freedom for India a post-war necessity, for better or worse; and a kind of hereditary monarchy the immediate form of transition to a democratic government. "Soviet democracy" and "bourgeois democracy" are incompatible with the complex social spiderweb. It is not that India is incapable of governing itself, but that it is incapable of governing itself according to superimposed standards from an entirely different civilization.

It is too bad that Mr. Moon chose a semi-fictional series of dialogues as a literary form. In an attempt to give a miniature perspective against the backdrop of the more immense problems, he has stilted and obscured a good deal of his argument. JOHN SENIOR

A Knotty Problem

ADMINISTERING THE INVOLVED systems of wage payment in use in many of our industries is one of the most difficult problems of union-management relations. "Union Policy and Incentive Wage Methods" by Van Dusen Kennedy (Columbia, $3) is a pioneer investigation of this thorny problem, and the author has succeeded in making clear the difficulties that face both unions and managements in their efforts to speed production, reduce costs, and raise the earn-

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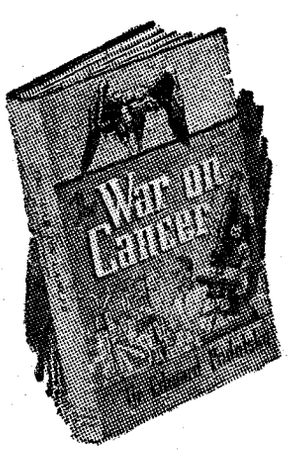

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ings of labor. Many manufacturing industries use either straight or intricate piece-work methods—usually called incentive systems—based upon analysis of the job and time and motion studies. Some of these systems are highly complex, and the difficulty of explaining them is increased by the suspicion among workers that they are devices for speeding up production, for reducing piece rates, and for undermining the solidarity of the group by stressing individual effort.

Improvement in techniques, arrangement of work, or flow of materials is usually followed by reevaluation of the jobs, and the setting of new rates. The problems rising out of this process are the most difficult which face the union leadership. The suspicion of the worker is often unfounded, but on the other hand some employers do misuse the incentive system to cut rates arbitrarily, thereby making the task of the union more difficult. Some of the labor groups which follow the Communist Party line are enthusiastic about the incentive systems, which they compare to Stakhanovism, but Dr. Kennedy finds widespread suspicion among the rank and file.

Dr. Kennedy makes a few modest proposals that may help to relieve the tension. A knowledge of job evaluation and time and motion studies on the part of shop stewards and union officers would enable them to explain to their members the basis upon which the rate for the job is set, thus eliminating unjustifiable complaints and at the same time preventing employer abuses. He also advises greater union participation in the setting of rates, but industry is in the main strongly opposed to giving labor a voice in such matters.

PHILIP TAFT

MEETING

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE moving pictures of President Roosevelt made at Teheran and at Yalta and when he reported to Congress after Yalta are, I believe, the best records we have of him. In the first I had fully and with sympathy and deep respect realized, however belatedly, how much that had seemed frivolous and even silly in Roosevelt was the high-pitched nervousness of a vivid, sensitive intelligence, and was inextricable from an extraordinary gallantry, in part created by background and in part limited by it, which I have always venerated. In the Yalta pictures there is not only the frightening thinness and sickness, or portent of sickness, but also much more. President Roosevelt had long been a great and fascinating figure for reasons which seemed mainly external, historical; now beyond any question, it seems to me, he was himself becoming a great man. An exceedingly complex and in many ways devious personality was undergoing profound and very rapid change. It was becoming integrated on a level it had scarcely before approached. In the plainest, simplest senses of the words that I can think of, his face was becoming the face of a religious, even of a seer, without loss of its adroitness and worldly resourcefulness and its singular, triumphant, essential gaiety. I felt in the face an intimacy with death and with tragedy which I had never seen in it before, and through that quiet and resolute, cheerful intimacy, a wonderful kind of recklessness, of all save the best that might be perceived and endeavored for the good of all other men. In this curiously light, shining, calm recklessness, this sense that all personal scores were settled and dismissed, in this quality of heroism emergent at last upon its highest level and its grandest prospect, I felt hope of a kind it was impossible to feel in any other living man, and reverence, regardless of how sure I felt that the best hopes must be proved idle. In the moving pictures made when the President addressed Congress, I saw all these same newly crystallized qualities at ease within the gentleman, and was convinced that nothing could destroy them. Their only impermanence was in their great possible increase; now this possibility has been ended. I will not try to describe with what glacial implacability this fact and the following days corroborated and enhanced my impressions.

If there is any possible excuse for my writing so subjectively, beyond the fact that I can hardly write or think of anything else, it lies in the fact that I was and remain fairly close to political agnosticism; and that if a person of my kind can be so moved by such a man, and such an event, that may be one more measure and one more expression of what the man and the event mean to those who have and who practice political hope and faith. For my own part I continue without much hope. But I doubt that I can ever again think of a man who works in politics, if his effort seems truly disinterested, without deepest respect.

So, too, I think of the new President. It is hard to imagine that history can ever have brought any man into a more terrible predicament. I realize too, as he does and as everybody does, that, forced to stand up and work his best under pressures which would fill the greatest and wisest of men with an annihilating sense of inadequacy, he is not very far, if far at all, from what we too contemptuously describe as mediocrity. But here again I am a sample of alteration which I assume applies still more powerfully in others. I have always believed, and still believe, in gifted individuals, and have trusted chiefly in their performance. But I have also always believed that the best that is in any ordinary man is illimitable; and now when that kind of faith is to be so severely tested, in the President and, just as acutely, in millions of others, I find it greatly fortified. Partly, it is because I know that greatness can emerge only under adequately difficult circumstances and that most people, including the great President who has died, find in themselves not the circumstances but merely the intellectual or still more important the moral adequacy to circumstance if it arises. Just as much, it is because sympathy, responsibility, love, magnanimity, resoluteness, and the obligation to selflessness, now more clearly than before, rest with great and equal weight upon all human beings who can so much as apprehend their existence. The wish that one might be of use is as great at least as the dismay, the shock, and the sorrow. The ways by which ordinary men can be of use are tragically limited, even in a democracy. To a great extent one is forced to fall back on a metaphysical yet very literal faith in unanimity and massiveness of spirit. I believe that this exists, and that if it is known to exist it can have very great power.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

"WHAT an artist!" exclaimed the lady in front of me to her husband, after Lehmann, with a sudden explosion of emotional intensity, had blasted the concluding phrase of Schubert's "Täuschung" out of relation to what had preceded. That was what the explosion had been intended to get the lady to think; but the means which Lehmann used in much of "Die Winterreise" to impress her Y. M. H. A. audience with what an artist she was made the opposite impression on me. For they were not what I consider art in the singing of such songs. When the lady in front of me said "What an artist!" she meant "How intensely she feels!" But a song is a piece of music; hence a singer's feeling for its expressive content must operate through a feeling for the musical phrase, and the expressive effect of the phrases must be achieved, as it is in any other piece of music, by inflection and articulation which makes them part of a plastically continuous and coherent progression. That is what Lehmann has done in her Town Hall recitals of recent years; but at the Y. M. H. A. she reverted to her earlier practice of throwing emotions and voice around without regard for the damage to musical phraseology. She may have thought this necessary for success with her Y. M. H. A. audience, and can point out that it succeeded enormously; but I can answer that the audience would also have liked the flawlessly phrased singing that delighted her Town Hall audiences this season, and if she had won her success with good singing she would have done something an artist should do—which is to cultivate good taste in the public by letting it hear what is good and find that it is enjoyable.

But I don't suppose people like Lehmann think very much of such things. It was amazing to observe how in "Wasserflut"—to take only one example—in every one of the places where she was required to wait the three quarter-notes of the measure she shortened the measure to two quarter-notes. It could be a lack of rhythmic sense; but my guess is that it is rather a lack of concern for anything in the song but her own singing; and I guess that from her treatment of the piano parts of the songs. The piano, as Schubert writes for it, not only sets the stage and creates the atmosphere for the voice, but collaborates with it in the development of the musical thought; but it does none of these things effectively when it is reduced, as it is by Lehmann, to a pallid whisper, and often it leaves the vocal phrase or Lehmann's vehemence without a context.

I should add that at the Y. M. H. A. the pallid whisper was produced from a piano which Steinway should have been ashamed to acknowledge as its own if it was not ashamed to send it to the hall. And, since I am speaking of such matters, the timbre of Lehmann's voice was sharpened and the effect of her vehemence increased by the excessive acoustic liveness of the Y. M. H. A. auditorium.

As for her farewell appearance in "Der Rosenkavalier" at the Metropolitan, I wish I had been content with my memories of her earlier performances. It may be that in them she did the same tragic flinging of her head back and her shoulders and arms around and I didn't notice it; but my recollection of those earlier performances is of something done with subtlety; and my impression is that whereas in former years she gave her performance, on this last occasion she gave a performance of herself giving her performance. It is the first act that I am thinking about; and I will complete my account of it by reporting that it suffered from the quavering bleat of Emanuel List, and Kurt Baum sang his Italian aria with a constriction which made me fear he would burst a blood-vessel, but that Rise Stevens's Octavian was excellent, and what I heard of Nadine Conner's singing in the second act (I left after her first duet with Stevens) was very good, and that Lothar Wallerstein contrived a good show for the first-act levée, and the music seemed to be well handled by Szell.

After the first American performance of Prokofiev's Eighth Piano Sonata by Horowitz at the Russian Consulate in New York I heard Szigeti say: "I found it a lit—tle atavis—tic," and then explain that it was "a return to the early Prokofiev." I took Szigeti to be referring to the finale—an explosion of motor energy in rapid figuration, in an ostinato interlude, and in the figuration again which it builds up to a terrific conclusion—as against the first movement, with its "modern" distorted lyricism such as one hears in Shostakovitch's music. But a musician to whom I mentioned all this replied: "Why no; the phony lyricism is as early as the style of the finale; I can show it to you in Prokofiev's First Sonata; that's where Shostakovitch got it." Whether the "modern" distorted lyricism is phony or not it is there in the first movement; and then the second movement astonishes us with an un-"modern" undistorted lyricism which is even more sugary in its prettiness than the similar second movement of the Seventh Sonata; whereupon the question arises how Prokofiev can ask for our belief in both these things in one man at one time in one work. I should be interested in what the Russians make of the work and say about it.

CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, is widely known as a political economist. Among his books are "Europe on the Eve," "Night Over Europe," "Design for Power," and "International Politics."

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Letters to the Editors

Test for Anti-Nazis

Dear Sirs: Writing in *The Nation* of March 24, your columnist Argus says that "Allied personnel can furnish no more than the skeleton" for the administration to be set up in Germany and that Germans will have to be used in large numbers. Of course, as he indicated, the question immediately arises — which Germans? Nazis are not to be used. So Argus is constrained to ask, What is a Nazi? And he answers, "The great mass of Germans, let us say 95 per cent, were in fact both Nazi and non-Nazi at the same time—in every possible degree, and gradation, and mixture. And, furthermore, there are practically no outward criteria by which they can be sorted out."

I believe that there is a decisive test which he has overlooked. The Nazis found their mass support in the German middle classes; they were financed by the upper classes. The overwhelming majority of the workers were outspokenly anti-Nazi before Hitler came to power, and certainly far more than 5 per cent remained opposed to the regime. The Allies can discover which ones have been anti-Nazi by a very simple method. Millions of foreign workers and prisoners of war have been employed in German industry. These foreigners have been in close and continuous contact with German workers. If they are carefully questioned they can indicate pretty accurately which workers are anti-Nazi and therefore fitted to serve as the framework of a new democratic Germany.

So far, to judge from reports, nothing of this kind has been attempted. Max Lerner wrote in *PM* for March 26, "Instead of exploring and encouraging the democratic strength that exists, we are giving power to former Nazi officials provided they are not 'ardent' Nazis, and we are encouraging the formation of a new business and professional governing class which is deeply anti-democratic in all its ideas and aims." In the same article he spoke of "the complete absence of workers, of Social Democrats, of Communists, of trade-union officials, of the Christian left from the important offices in the German civil government." And he adds, "There is no evidence of our having made an attempt to tap these groups for leadership. I have been assured by competent sources that a list of people who might have been drawn on for running the local government was available to our authorities in Aachen but was not acted on. There were enough of them to fill the strategic posts. The workers in German cities already have shown signs of becoming bitter at seeing the very people who once were Nazis, the people who served as labor spies in Nazi factories, the people who were able to survive and prosper under the Nazis, now running things even after Nazi power has been destroyed."

The question who is an anti-Nazi will be comparatively easy to answer if the Allies really ask for cooperation from the German workers, a great latent force for democratic progress.

FRITZ STERNBERG

New York, April 3

Report from the Pacific

Dear Sirs: Here is an account of one participant's reactions and experiences in a recent Pacific campaign. When the landings were made, my unit was the only hospital landed. The navy left immediately to thwart an enemy convoy coming in behind us. We were on our own. We set up a field hospital at once and moved along behind the division. Since hazardous sea communication interfered with evacuation rearward, we treated and held for some time all the wounded. I was forced to operate on cases that ordinarily require extremely specialized care, as brain, eye, and spinal-cord cases. We could not stay in one place, for as the infantry moved forward the rear was exposed to Jap troops. Once we moved over 200 patients. To the problem of operating on and caring for a big load of casualties there was the added necessity of tearing down and setting up a new hospital three times during the short campaign. And of course we were subject to all the hazards of rear troops.

A portable surgical hospital attached to us was capable, as we were, of running two operating tables constantly. I was in charge of our two tables and operated on one constantly. My two tables did about four hundred operative cases before General MacArthur called all organized resistance over. Sleep consisted of dozing for a few minutes while waiting for a plaster to be put on, for an abdomen to be shaved, or for the assistant to finish the dressing.

The natives with whom I have come in contact have a refreshing dignity and self-respect. Here and there one sees a highly cultured native, as for example, a guerrilla leader who was a patient in my unit for a time. His diction, intelligence, and social sense marked him as an extraordinary man even before he told me of his life as a guerrilla. His experiences included night raids, trips among the islands under the nose of the Japanese navy, and the maintenance of relations between American forces in Australia and his homeland by radio and submarine communication. He is twenty-five, but already a military and political leader. Like all natives, he expects that liberation will automatically mean freedom, prosperity, and the benevolent philanthropy of the United States. Only large subsidies and technical help can provide the necessary education, sanitation, and reconstruction these people need to support themselves properly. It would be wrong for us to free them and leave them to their own devices.

I am not optimistic about the length of the war. I have seen some of the difficulties of supply and bad terrain; that is what will prolong the war.

The men in this section of the army are much disturbed over reports of the American public's indifference to the war effort. A captain recently returned from a three weeks' furlough in the United States told us he felt that only people with relatives in the service were anxious for the war to end quickly. The others were too happy over the money they were making. He felt out of things in his home town and could not enjoy the dancing, dining, and free spending that went along with the gas-coupon chiseling. I pointed out that a large proportion of the population has friends and relatives in the service, and, frankly, I feel that his attitude was largely due to personal inadequacies. He may have expected to be welcomed as a conquering hero. But whether or not these reports are strictly true, they are believed. We are drifting into a cleavage of veterans and civilians that augurs ill for the future.

MAJOR ——

Somewhere in the Pacific,
January 18

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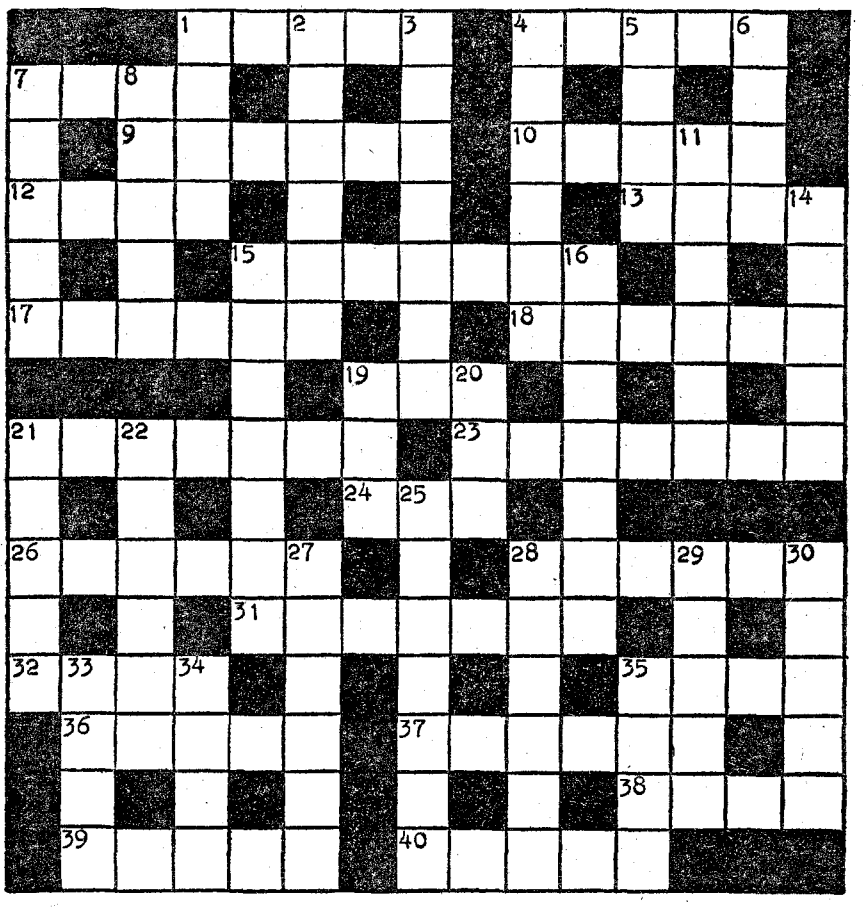
Crossword Puzzle No. 113 by JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Of worth maybe to the gambler
4 Two-legged animal, with or without feathers
7 A note the prime mover conceals
9 Majestic month
10 Ananias and Baron Munchausen, for example
12 German industrial district
13 She could easily be hurt
15 Palindromic pick-me-up
17 In the words of the song: "Over there!"
18 French seaside place
19 "The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive ---" (*As You Like It*)
21 Scottish dish to which the police seem extremely partial
23 "It ------- not how a man dies, but how he lives"
24 French five-franc piece
26 You have perhaps done this at bridge
28 Sort of dog that doesn't stay to see the end of the game
31 North-east African tribesmen
32 A bit long in the tooth
35 Invalid
36 Fiat
37 Britain's famous cartoonist in bed! Well, I'm ------!
38 Fiddlesticks
39 A cheese fancier
40 Sherry

DOWN

1 If you split this trip it would still be a long way there
2 German baron who gave his name to a British news agency
3 Somewhat wet
4 Everybody in bed?
5 Comice or Sweet William, perhaps
6 What thou art and shalt return to
7 Twice blessed quality, sometimes strained
8 Much-quoted American admiral (1840-1914)
11 In this case it's all right for an M.P. to break the rule
14 When a friend asked Simple Susie if she liked French -----, she said she didn't know any
15 Promotions from one class to another
16 Rio to U. S. without a break! That's luxurious!
19 A direction
20 You must know this bird
21 Horse-headed snake
22 Purely floral
25 Enemy shell of the last war put to a domestic use
27 Plug of tobacco at bottom of pipe after smoking
28 Turkish Christian name
29 So about to ruminate on an old coin
30 Hollers
33 Cause of most of our ills
34 "---- et mon droit" (...al motto)
35 Birds' beaks

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE

ACROSS:—1 PERSONABLE; 6 ENDLESS; 11 INFANTA; 12 SCOTLYING; 15 CURVE; 17 AVUNCULNOMINATED; 21 SPURN; 23 MARALARKSPUR; 27 CHARITY; 28 INDIA29 LOTS; 30 SLEEVELESS.

DOWN:—1 PIED; 2 REDUCER; 3 OVERT; 4 ASSAILANT; 5 LEITH; 7 SUNDIAL; 8 STAGGERING; 9 AFFLICTS; 14 ECONOMICAL; 16 EINSTEIN; 18 UNDERMINE; 20 MORDANT; 22 ULULATE; 24 LOYAL; 25 SIDLE; 26 PASS.

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